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## DA COSTA'S HAGAR

One of the finest missionary poems in the wide world of literature is the epic of Hagar by the celebrated Dutch poet, Isaac Da Costa. A pupil of the great poet Bilderdijk, of Spanish-Portuguese Jewish descent, his poetry shows the elements of Dutch education, oriental passion, and love for the Word of Jehovah.

The family of Da Costa is traced back to Mendez da Costa, one of the Marano of Spain. The arms of the two families of Sephardic Jews who settled before 1590 in England and in Holland are practically the same, and the pedigrees of these distinguished families are given at length in Jewish annals. The father of Isaac Da Costa was a prominent merchant in Amsterdam; his mother Rebecca Ricardo was a near relative of the English political economist, David Ricardo.

He was born at Amsterdam on January 14, 1798. Destined for the bar, Isaac Da Costa was sent to the Latin school, 1806-1811, and here he wrote his first verses. Through his Hebrew teacher Moses Lemans he became acquainted with the poet-laureate Bilderdijk who at his father's request supervised his further education. In 1817 Da Costa went to Leyden University, where he took his degrees in law and philosophy. Soon after his engagement and the death of his father, he was baptized into the Christian faith, together with his wife, at Leyden. Rabbi Mayer Kaiserling pays tribute to his character in a sketch of his

life and work contributed to the Jewish Encyclopedia: "However severely his religious views and efforts be censured, his character, no less than his genius, was respected by his contemporaries. Although he wrote much on missionary matters, he is distinguished from many other converts in that, to the end of his life, he felt only reverence and love for his former co-religionists, was deeply interested in their past history, and often took their part."

Soon after his conversion to Christianity Da Costa became one of the most active opponents of the prevailing rationalism. He was a theologian and a historian, but above all a poet; the uncrowned poet-laureate of Holland until the day of his death, April 28, 1860. Of all his poems, perhaps Hagar is the most oriental, and that is saying much in the case of the poet who said of himself:

"Ik ben geen zoon der lauwe westerlanden,
Mijn vaderland is daar de zon ontwaakt;
En als de gloed der Libyaansche zanden
Zoo is de dorst naar dichtkunst die mij blaakt."

The poem, Hagar, appears in the third volume of his complete works, pp. 137-148, and consists of 340 lines. It was first published in 1855 in a small collection entitled *Hesperiden*: *Bijbelsche Vrouwen* (Women of the Bible).

Not only is the poem oriental, but, strictly speaking, Arabian from beginning to end. The scene opens in the desert, with a vision of Hagar at the well. It tells the tale of her desert son and his descendants, and closes with a last vision of the mother-of-sorrow—Sarah's bondmaid.

Into one hundred and sixty-eight rhymed couplets the genius of Da Costa has condensed the story of Ishmael and Islam in their origin and development. He has woven together the woof of Bible promise and the warp of Arabian history into one beautiful seamless garment of poetry. To give a worthy rendering of the whole, or even of some lofty stanzas, would be hopeless. Parts of the poem yield to a sort of rendering in English, which may, perhaps, be

called a translation. At least, they are as literal as I could make them while adhering to the measure, form and stanzas of the original, Addressing Arabia, the poem opens:

"What marvels met thine eye, thou Orient desert Queen!
Eternal land of drought, of crags and rocks between
A shifty sea of sand, vast, limitless . . . .
A sea of solitude, oppressive, comfortless . . . .
Whose waves of sand and rock refresh no aching eye,
But leave earth barren 'neath a burning sky.
How oft beneath those skies the storm-winds thou hast seen.
Fiercer than oven-blast, hotter than mid-day beam,
Chainlike unfolding in their onward path,
Whilst knelt the caravan obedient to their wrath;
Until, storm-built and driven by the blast,
The simoon's awful chariot had rolled past.

. . . . . .

But in the solemn hour, recalled by poet's muse,
Silent the desert wastes. The rushing storm winds lose
Their faintest whisper. Solitude. Save one!
With bold, yet downcast eye, a woman walks alone.
Sorrow hath filled her soul."

Then follows the vision of Hagar and the promise of Jehovah. The second part tells of Ishmael's mocking, the exile, Hagar's prayer, and the renewed promise of God to her seed:

"Ishmael, thou shalt not die! The desert waste,
Which dared to boast itself thy grave, shall taste
And tell thy glory." . . . .

Here the Bedouin life is sketched in a few matchless stanzas portraying the ship of the desert and the Arabian steed—the peculiar twofold treasure of the peninsula from time immemorial. (So much, in fact, is the horse identified with Arabia that Colonel Tweedie entitled his large and important volume of researches on Northern Arabia, *The Arabian Horse: His Country and His People*!)

Passing by the centuries of silence, the poet suddenly

places before us the Saracen invasion and its onward sweep into North Africa and Spain:

> . . . . "They leap upon the lance, but lances wound them not;
> A hemisphere at once falls to the Arab's lot.
> And, as a new plowed field sown thick with summer hail
> Pressed from the thunder cloud, so swift their nomad trail
> Sweeps everywhere along . . . . . .
> The day of vengeance falls! The Koran and its sword!
> Those half-truths, wrapped in fascinating lore
> Your idols can confound, but not your God restore.
> Yet conquer must that Christendom which sold
> Her substance for a form; for glitter lost her gold,
> And thus waxed weak. Egypt, once more obey
> The nomad's law, like Hyksos rule in earlier day!
> Proud Alexandria, bow! Yield, yield thy costly store.
> Thy libraries of learning and their treasured lore,
> With all thy boasted schools? The latest blood
> Of old Numidia now lies reeking on the sod,
> Nor Carthager, nor Vandal, can ward off the blow . . . .
> All Africa's at stake, and Europe shares her woe.
> They've mounted high Gibraltar, lovely Spain
> Lies just beyond . . . 'tis Christian but in name;
> The fierce West-Goth sees all his temples sacked
> Till turns the tide of time by greater Power backed.
> Alas! Still ebbs the flood. No Pyrenees can bar
> The eagle's lofty flight nor stay the scimitar.
> Awake, ye north winds, and drive back the horde
> Barbarian; Karel, rise, thou Martel, break their sword!
> God's hand makes true Thy name. Regain our loss
> And save from Crescent rule the lands that love the Cross." . . . .

Next, we have in the poem, a full-length portrait of the genius prophet, Mohammed, the greatest of the sons of Hagar. These stanzas defy translation because of their beauty and idiom and marvellous condensation. There is often a volume of thought in a single line, and nowhere do I know of a more just, generous, and yet critically truthful delineation of Mohammed's character.

The seventh division of the poem opens, as do all the others, by addressing Hagar. But this time as the *bond-*

*maid*; Ishmael in subjection to Isaac; the Cross rising triumphant above the Crescent:

"Mother of Ishmael! The word that God hath spoken
Never hath failed the least, nor was His promise broken.
Whether in judgment threatened or as blessing given;
Whether for time and earth or for eternal heaven,
To Esau or to Jacob. . . .
The patriarch prayed to God, while bowing in the dust:
'Oh that before thee Ishmael might live!'—His prayer, his trust.
Nor was that prayer despised, *that* promise left alone
Without fulfillment. For the days shall come
When Ishmael shall bow his haughty, chieftain head
Before that Greatest Chief of Isaac's royal seed.
Thou, favored Solomon, hast first fulfillment seen
Of Hagar's promise, when came suppliant Sheba's queen.
Next Araby the blest brought Bethlehem's newborn King,
Her myrrh and spices, gold and offering.
Again at Pentecost they came, first-fruits of harvest vast;
When, to adore the name of Jesus, at the last
To Zion's glorious hill the nation's joy to share
The scattered flocks of Kedar all are gathered there,
Nebajoth, Hefa, Midian. . . . .
Then Israel shall know Whose heart their hardness broke,
Whose side they pierced, Whose curse they dared invoke.
And then, while at His feet they mourn His bitter death,
Receive His pardon. . . . .
Before Whose same white throne Gentile and Jew shall meet
With Parthian, Roman, Greek, the far North and the South,
From Mississippi's source to Ganges' giant mouth,
And every tongue and tribe shall join in one new song,
Redemption! Peace on earth and good-will unto men;
The purpose of all ages unto all ages sure. Amen.
Glory unto the Father! Glory the Lamb, once slain,
Spotless for human guilt, exalted now to reign!
And to the Holy Ghost, life-giver, whose refreshing
Makes all earth's deserts bloom with living showers of blessing!"

. . . . . .

"Mother of Ishmael! I see thee yet once more,
Thee, under burning skies and on a waveless shore!
Thou comfortless, soul storm-tossed, tempest-shaken,
Heart full of anguish and of hope forsaken,

Thou, too, didst find at last God's glory all thy stay!
He came. He spake to thee. He made thy night His day.
As then, so now. Return to Sarah's tent
And Abraham's God, and better covenant,
And sing with Mary, through her Saviour free,
'God of my life, Thou hast looked down on me.' " [1]

Hagar is not referred to in the Koran by name, although Ishmael her son is mentioned several times. In iv:161 it is said of him that he received revelations; in xix:55 he is called a messenger and a prophet; and in ii:119 he along with Abraham is commanded to purify the holy house at Mecca.

The traditions are more explicit. According to the Moslem story, Ishmael helped his father Abraham build the temple at Mecca. When the work was completed, Abraham abandoned the boy with his mother in a barren country. Afflicted by thirst, Hagar ran to and fro between the hills al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa looking for water. Gabriel called to her, and the result was the spring of Zamzam. The sacred waters of this miraculous spring are now used by the pilgrims.

According to the genealogies, Ishmael is considered the ancestor of the North Arabian tribes. Moslem tradition also notes the story related in Genesis 22, where Ishmael, and not Isaac, is offered on the altar and delivered by God's providing a ram. The poem of Da Costa gains new significance when we read it with this background of Moslem tradition.

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[1] The edition of the poem used for this translation was *Da Costa's Kompleete Dichtwerken* in four volumes. J. P. Hasebroek, Arnhem, 1871. The latter portion of my translation appears in *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam,* (New York, 1900.)

# RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN IRAQ

In pre-war days, Iraq, like all other sections of the former Ottoman Empire, was subject to the general system of jurisdiction prevailing in Turkish territory. So far as the question of religious liberty is concerned, this meant that:

(a) In accordance with the practice of Moslem countries, non-Moslem minorities were organized into communities called *"Millets"*, whose leaders exercised temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction over their members, and were responsible to the Government for their good behavior. The temporal jurisdiction of the religious courts established under the head of each community was limited, however, to such questions of personal status as marriage, divorce and separation, and all ancillary matters arising therefrom, such as alimony and dower. The Courts adjudicated in regard to wills, provided that these were drawn up in accordance with the law of the community concerned, and also (by a later stipulation) provided that the parties benefiting by the will all belonged to that community. All other matters of personal status of Christians and Jews were brought before the Moslem *Sharia* Courts. Questions of intestate succession, involving Christians and Jews, were submitted to the *Sharia* Courts, unless all the parties concerned agreed unanimously to their being referred to the relevant community court.

Each community was permitted to erect its own places of worship, and to observe its own religious practices. Religious liberty was interpreted to mean the right of the members of each community to worship in their own way without interference from the Moslem authorities, provided only there was no breach of public order or morals.

(b) Whereas a definite legal procedure was set up for the *registration of the convert* from Christianity (or any other religion) to Islam, there was no corresponding procedure for the registration of the Moslem who wished to change his religion. The most that the European powers were able to secure from the Sublime Porte was an understanding that the death penalty, which the *Sharia* law decrees for apostates, should not be inflicted. In practice, a convert was obliged, in nine cases out of ten, to flee the country, so great was the danger to his life from a hostile social environment.

(c) *The activities of missionary organizations* were tolerated, those of Roman Catholic societies, so long as they confined their attention to what they regarded as the "erring" members of the Greek Orthodox Church, and those of Protestant Societies, provided they did nothing more than open schools and hospitals for the benefit of the poor and the sick.

In the preceding paragraphs we have endeavored to summarize in a general way the regulations determining religious freedom in all Turkish territory, including Iraq, in the years prior to the Great War. We shall now turn our attention to an examination of the changes which have been effected since Iraq ceased to be under Turkish rule, and became first of all a mandated territory under British supervision, and later an independent country, enjoying membership in the League of Nations.

(a) *The Status of Minorities*:

No important change has been made, since Turkish days, in the system of religious communities (or *Millets*) or in the rights of jurisdiction assigned to their courts. The Constitution of Iraq drawn up in July, 1924, and amended in 1925, defines these powers as follows:

Article 13 declares that "Islam is the official religion of the state. Freedom to practise the rights of the different sects of that religion as observed in Iraq is guaranteed. Complete freedom of conscience and freedom to practise the various forms of worship, in conformity with accepted

customs, is guaranteed to all inhabitants of the country, provided that such forms of worship do not conflict with the maintenance of order and discipline or public morality."

Article 16 asserts that "the various communities shall have the right of establishing and maintaining schools for the instruction of their members in their own tongues, provided that such instruction is carried out in conformity with such general programmes as may be prescribed by law."

Article 75 states that "the religious Courts shall be divided into (1) *Sharia* Courts (2) The Spiritual Councils of the Communities"; Article 78 that "the Spiritual Councils of the Communities include the Jewish Spiritual Councils and the Christian Spiritual Councils. Such Councils shall be established, and powers of jurisdiction conferred upon them, by a special law"; and Article 79 that "the Spiritual Councils shall be competent to deal with the following matters: 1. Matters relating to marriage, dowry, divorce, separation, alimony, attestations of wills other than those attested by a notary public (with the exception of those matters coming within the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts relating to members of the community) but excluding foreigners who are members of such community.

2. Any other matters of personal status relating to members of the communities, if the parties so agree."

Finally, Article 80 lays it down that "the procedure to be followed and the fees to be levied in the Spiritual Councils of the Communities shall be prescribed by special law. Succession, freedom of testamentary disposition and similar matters relating to personal status not coming within the jurisdiction of the Spiritual Councils of the Communities shall be regulated by a law."

We thus see that the Courts of the religious communities still adjudicate in such matters as marriage, separation, divorce and, with certain restrictions, attestation of wills. Each Court bases its judgments on the code or regulations of its own community. If no regulation exists covering

the case under dispute, a decision is given in accordance with the *Sharia* (or Moslem) law. It would appear that the Iraqi Government entertained the hope that the various communities would revise and reorganize their codes concerning matters of personal status, and in point of fact the Armenian and Jewish communities have so reorganized themselves and their codes, in accordance with this desire of the Government. The Protestant *millet,* like that of most of the non-Uniate local Churches, is too small to need much reorganization. There is, however, a large body of Christians included under the Uniate churches, and these are continuing to use the same organization and codes as under the Turkish régime. The Government has not pressed them to reconsider their organization and system, possibly through fear of complications with the Vatican.

All other questions of personal status of Christians and Jews, apart from marriage, divorce, etc., were in pre-war days brought before the Moslem *Sharia* Courts. Now, however, they are submitted to newly-established Civil Courts, set up by the British administration, with a Code of Law, based very largely on the Indian Judicial Code.

This change marks an important development in the judicial system. It indicates a desire on the part of the Iraqi Government to establish a system of jurisdiction common to all members of the community, whatever their religion or nationality. In this regard, Iraq is brought into line with the legal procedure evolved in most Western countries. Herein lies a definite restriction of the *Sharia* Law, and its replacement by another judicial Code. It is one big step forward in the direction of secularizing the whole judicial system. The significance of the present position is made clear in Article 6 of the Constitution of Iraq which asserts that "There shall be no differentiation in the rights of Iraqis before the law, whatever differences may exist in language, race, or creed."

The Iraqi Government rightly wishes to get rid of any *"imperium in imperio."* It was on this question of independent communal authorities possessing temporal

powers within the general system of centralized Government, that negotiations between Mar Shimun, the Assyrian Patriarch, and the Iraq Government were shipwrecked. In a letter to Mar Shimun (No. C/1104 dated May 28th, 1933), the Minister of the Interior had stated in the following explicit terms the inability of His Government to recognize Mar Shimun's claims to independent authority. "I must, however, make it clear that the Government cannot agree to delegate to you any temporal authority. Your position will be the same as that of the other spiritual heads of communities in Iraq; in all matters of administration the members of the Assyrian Community must conform to the laws, regulations, and manner of procedure which apply to all other Iraqis."

In reply to this letter, Mar Shimun made a counterclaim (No. A. P. S. dated June 3rd, 1933): "This Patriarchal authority is a great historical and traditional usage of the Assyrian people and Church, and it has been one of its established and most important customs. The temporal power has not been assumed by me, but it has descended to me from centuries past as a legalized delegation of the people to the Patriarch . . . . . Whilst being in no way preventive to the application of the law of the country, it has proved to be the best method of dealing with a people living under such circumstances as the Assyrians are . . . . . It is a legal delegation of the people to me, and it is only they who can take it away."

Herein lay a fundamental difference of viewpoint concerning the nature of the modern State, an inevitable clash between the medieval conception of temporal-religious authority, and the modern conception of secularized jurisdiction. It is not surprising that Khalil Azmi Beg, the Acting *Mutasarrif,* stated in reply to these claims that "The Iraqi Government was aware of the demands submitted to the League of Nations by Mar Shimun; the Government opposed the acceptance of such demands, knowing that they were inconsistent with its sovereignty and did not conform to the requirements of administration."

It is important to recognize that in taking this stand, the Iraqi Government was not seeking to force Christian minorities to accept the *Sharia* Law, or to submit to a prejudiced Moslem administration; it was merely insisting, as most modern Governments insist, on the recognition of all members of the community, whatever their religion or nationality, of a common legal procedure. When in July, 1932, Iraq put forward its application for membership in the League of Nations (which was one of the conditions required by the Council of the League), it submitted to the Council a declaration of Guarantees, whose articles are as comprehensive as they are liberal in the assurance they give of religious freedom to non-Moslem minorities.

So important is this Declaration (being the first drawn up on the termination of a Mandate) that we shall quote some of its articles in full.

Article 2 states that

"Full and complete protection of life and liberty shall be assured to all inhabitants of Iraq, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion. All inhabitants of Iraq will be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals."

Article 4 declares that

"All Iraq nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion. The electoral system shall guarantee equitable representation to racial, religious and linguistic minorities in Iraq. Differences of race, language or religion shall not prejudice any Iraqi national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions or industries."

Article 5 undertakes that

"Iraqi nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Iraqi nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to maintain, manage, and control at their own expense, or to establish in the future, charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein."

In Article 6 we find the assurance that

"The Iraqi Government undertakes to take, as regards non-Moslem minorities, in so far as concerns their family law and personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs and usage of the communities to which those minorities belong. The Iraqi Government will communicate to the Council of the League of Nations information regarding the manner in which these measures have been executed."

Article 7 states that

"The Iraqi Government undertakes to grant full protection, facilities and authorization to the churches, synagogues, cemeteries and other religious establishments, charitable works and pious foundations of minority religious communities existing in Iraq . . . . . The Iraqi Government will not refuse, for the formation of new religious or charitable institutions, any of the necessary facilities which may be guaranteed to existing institutions of that nature."

Article 8 promises that

"In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Iraqi nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities will be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes."

And finally, Article 12 declares that

"A uniform system of justice shall be applicable to all, Iraqis and foreigners alike. It shall be such as effectively to ensure the protection and full exercise of their rights, both to foreigners and nationals."

What adds special significance and force to these undertakings is that the first Article of the Declaration states that

"The stipulations contained in the present chapter (i. e., regarding the position of minorities) are recognized as fundamental laws of Iraq, and no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action now or in the future prevail over them."

Further, Article 10 gives the additional sanction that

"The stipulations of the foregoing articles of this Declaration, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, are declared to constitute obligations of international concern and will be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. No modification will be made in them without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. Any member of the League represented on the Council shall have the

right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these stipulations, and the Council may thereupon take such measures and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances. Any difference of opinion as to law or fact arising out of these Articles between Iraq and any Member of the League represented on the Council shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant."

In the face of such liberal undertakings, supported by the authority of the League of Nations, it is inevitable that the tragedy of the Assyrian minority of 1933 should come as a violent shock. Was this Declaration after all nothing but another "scrap of paper"? Into the rights and wrongs of the Assyrian claims we cannot enter here, nor, in any case, are we competent to pass judgment on them. So far as the evidence before us goes, it would seem that Mar Shimun, the Assyrian Patriarch, consistently opposed all efforts of the Iraqi Government to cooperate in settling the Assyrian claims, partly because he doubted the sincerity of the Government, and partly because, as we have seen, he refused to abandon his claims to temporal authority over his people. Furthermore, in the words of the London *Times* of November 29th, 1933, "It is equally true that some of the Assyrian leaders asked for concessions which no native Government of Iraq could safely grant; that they were 'difficult' and sometimes overbearing is probable enough; and it is certain that the local revolt, which had such tragic consequences for many innocent people, was an act of criminal folly and a grave threat to the new Arab State." Yet, when all has been said, no satisfactory explanation has been forthcoming, or indeed can be, of the ghastly massacre of innocent and defenceless Assyrians in the village of Sumeil, not, as was officially declared, by Kurdish or Arab irregulars, but by the Iraqi Army itself, acting under the definite orders of its immediate officers, though not of the Government itself.

We must admit that the Iraqi Government was not responsible in the first instance for the Assyrian problem. The responsibility for this falls rather upon the League of Nations or the British Government. We must also concede that it was hardly fair to subject a Government, so young in its independence as that of Iraq, to so complex and difficult a problem as that of the settlement of a large non-Moslem community in the midst of a population overwhelmingly Moslem. Granted, however, the folly of the Assyrian leaders, and the senseless stupidity of their revolt, we must yet confess that, under the stress of national and religious feeling, deep-seated animosities were allowed to vent themselves in the shedding of innocent blood, for which there is, and can be, no justification whatever.

Yet, perhaps, it is unfair to pass judgment on Iraq on the grounds of the Assyrian *"affaire"* alone. There is no question today of danger to the life or property of the Assyrians still remaining in Iraq. The Government appears eager to do its best to find a solution to this complicated problem.

Apart from the Assyrians, whose situation was in many respects unique, there seem to be no indications of discrimination by the Iraqi Government against any religious minority, and so far as we can ascertain, the Government appears to be observing loyally the terms of its Declaration. Such at least is the official attitude of the Government, though in practice, when a question of preference arises, the Moslem usually stands a better chance than the non-Moslem. For example, it is the Moslem rather than the Christian or the Jew who is selected for advanced education abroad, or who is appointed for service in a Government Department. Considering that Iraq is a Moslem country, this is perhaps only natural.

In drawing this section to a conclusion, we would point out that the Constitution of Iraq stipulates that there shall be a representation of religious minorities in Parliament, while Section 2 of Article 4 of the Declaration already quoted states that "The electoral system shall guarantee

equitable representation to racial, religious and linguistic minorities in Iraq." The various communities have representation in the Senate, and also elect members to the Chamber of Deputies, each community being allotted representation in proportion to its size. By the Electoral Law for the Chamber of Deputies passed in 1924, the Christian and Jewish minorities have the following number of deputies:

Mosul Liwa .....2 Christians, 1 Jew.
Baghdad Liwa .....1 Christian, 2 Jews.
Basrah Liwa .....1 Christian, 1 Jew.

These deputies are, in addition to the deputies, elected for each of the above Liwas in proportion to the total number of their inhabitants.

In regard to the heads of religious communities, the Iraqi Government has virtually the right of confirming or accepting the heads elected by each community. This may involve active interference in the election, as actually happened a few years ago in the case of the Jewish community at Baghdad. This community was itself divided, and one party appealed to the Government.

If we summarize the changes which have taken place in the legal status of Christian and Jewish minorities, since the Turkish régime came to an end, we are led inevitably to the conclusion that the position of non-Moslem minorities in Iraq today is more clearly defined and more firmly established than that of their predecessors under the Ottoman Empire. Whatever modifications have been made in the Constitution or in the legal system have tended to strengthen, rather than to weaken, their position. We believe that there has been real progress, and that the outlook for the future is hopeful and promising.

(b) *The Position of the Convert*:

In the opening section of this article we pointed out that in the Ottoman Empire, in accordance with the *Sharia* Law, there was no legal procedure for the registration of the convert from Islam to Christianity. It was in February, 1924, that the British administration first rectified this

omission, by the promulgation of the following Ministerial Notification:

"There appears to be uncertainty as to the procedure to be followed on application for change of religion. This notification is therefore issued in amplification and supersession of previous announcements on the subject.

"A person desiring to change his religion must, in the first place, apply to the *Mutasarrif* of his place of residence. The *Mutasarrif* will at once give notice to the family or guardian of the applicant, if known; and also to the local religious head of the Community to which the applicant belongs. Such religious head will be given opportunity of interviewing the applicant in privacy in a Government office. If after such interview the applicant still requests to change his religion, and proves by official documents that he has completed his twentieth solar year, the *Mutasarrif* will inform the competent Judicial authority, who after the necessary proceedings will issue a decree in the usual form. If the age of the applicant is uncertain, it will be determined by the Administrative Council. An application for change of religion from a person who has not completed his or her twentieth solar year should not be entertained."

Later in the same year (1924) a further notification was issued, stating that

"whereas no provision is made in the existing rule as to the procedure to be followed in places where no religious head exists in the Liwa where the applicant for conversion resides, it is hereby notified that in such cases the person applying to change his religion should be directed to make his application in a place where a religious head of his community is stationed, if such exists in Iraq. Notification to the religious head may be dispensed with, if there is no religious head of the applicant's faith in Iraq."

In 1927 a new law was passed, superseding that of 1924, and declaring that

"If a person who is registered with the Government changes his religion, it is incumbent upon him to inform his *mukhtar* of that fact, presenting statements from both his old and new religious head, and it is incumbent upon the *mukhtar* to inform the Government."

We thus note that since 1924 anyone in Iraq, male or female (with the exception of minors), has the right to register officially a change of religion, whether from Christianity to Islam or from Islam to Christianity. In actual practice, one convert from Islam to Christianity has registered his change of faith, and obtained a passport

in his new name. Theoretically, also, there would appear to be no reason why a convert should not inherit property, though, so far as we are aware, this right has not as yet been established in any particular case.

At the same time it is significant that the Declaration of Guarantees given by Iraq when she applied for membership in the League of Nations, though based almost verbatim on the "Albanian Minorities Treaty" omitted the important clause, which the latter contained, that "They shall have freedom to change their religion." Possibly, however, this omission should not be given undue emphasis, as the Iraqi Declaration goes further than the Albanian in the stipulations contained in Article 7 and Article 15 (quoted below); and it may represent nothing more than a desire on the part of the Iraqi Government not to call attention to a procedure which is so patently in conflict with the provisions of the *Sharia* Law.

(c) *The Right of Missionary Work*:

Missionary work has been carried on in Iraq, both under the British Mandate, and since Iraq became an independent nation. Constitutional recognition of missionary work is contained in Article 15 of the Declaration of Guarantees, which reads:

"Subject to such measures as may be essential for the maintenance of public order and morality, Iraq undertakes to ensure and guarantee throughout its territory freedom of conscience and worship and the free exercise of the religious, educational and medical activities of religious missions of all denominations, whatever the nationality of those missions or of their members." [1]

This guarantee is further supported by article 16 of the same declaration, which states that

"The provisions of the present chapter constitute obligations of international concern. Any Member of the League of Nations may call the attention of the Council to any infraction of these provisions. They may not be modified except by agreement between Iraq and the Council of the League of Nations acting by a majority vote. Any difference of opinion which may arise between Iraq and any

[1] Compare Article 4 of the Tripartite Convention between Great Britain, Iraq and the U. S. A., dated January 9th, 1930, which reads: "Subject to the provisions of any local laws for the maintenance of public order and public morals, and to any general educational requirements prescribed by law in Iraq, the nationals of the United States will be permitted freely to establish and maintain educational, philanthropic and religious institutions in Iraq, to receive voluntary applicants, and to teach in the English language."

Member of the League of Nations represented on the Council, with regard to the interpretation or the execution of the said provisions, shall, by an application by such Member, be submitted for decision to the Permament Court of International Justice."

Up to the present, Iraqi Government officials have observed loyally the spirit of these undertakings, showing no bias against missionaries because of their religion or their nationality. Religious preaching and teaching are permitted, so long as they are not subversive of public order, and provided no attack is made on any other religion or its founder. It is true that all literature imported into the country must be submitted first to a special section of the Department of the Interior, while all new books printed in Iraq must secure the approval of the Press Bureau. But, so far, no discrimination has been shown against Christian literature.

Most of the mission schools are operating on the strength of permits granted to the various Christian *millets* during Turkish times, though new permits have been granted, when asked for. Government intervention in the curriculum of mission schools has been confined to the question of the amount of Arabic and History taught in them. [2] Each year Government inspectors visit the schools, and monthly reports are sent to the Department of Education. The Government does not recognize, however, the certificates given by mission schools.

In regard to the question of religious education in general, to which we may conveniently refer at this point, Moslem children in Government schools receive instruction in Islam from the *mullahs* (or religious teachers), whereas the Christian children receive no religious instruction in Christianity. Many of the *Millets* conduct private schools, where Christian teaching is given. These

[2] Compare article 2 of the Protocol, attached to the Tripartite Convention between Great Britain, Iraq and the U. S. A., dated the 9th of January, 1930: "It is understood . . . . . that the Iraq Government will not interfere in matters concerning the curriculum, such as the timetable, discipline and purely internal administration in schools established or maintained by nationals of the U. S. A. in Iraq," and also the letter from Ja'far Pasha to General Dawes, of the same date, "The Iraq Government interprets this article as not preventing the enforcement on the said schools of article 28 of the Public Instruction Law of 1929, the translation of which runs, 'It is obligatory to teach the Arabic language and the history and geography of Iraq and the history of the Arabs in accordance with the programme of the Ministry of Education in all non-technical private schools, both primary and secondary. The hours devoted to the Arabic language must be not less than five hours a week in primary classes, and three hours a week in secondary classes.' "

schools receive substantial grants from the Government and conform to Government regulations.

It is interesting to note at this point that in a new Treaty now being negotiated between Iraq and the United States, the freedom of missionary work is mutual, i. e., Iraqis may conduct religious missions, open schools and carry on missionary activities in America on exactly the same basis that Americans can undertake missionary work in Iraq.

The summary we have given of the more important modifications introduced by the British Administration or the Iraqi Government in regard to legal procedure, in so far as it affects the question of religious liberty, proves, we believe, a very definite and tangible advance on anything that existed in pre-war days. This is true whether we consider the status of minorities, the position of the convert, or the right of missionary work. Iraq is moving steadily forward towards the modern conception of the State, with a single judicial and administrative system, unaffected by considerations of religion or nationality. The *Millet* system still survives, but its scope is definitely limited. Even the Assyrian tragedy of 1933 does not shake our faith in the essential progress that has been made. The Government is endeavoring to carry out faithfully the undertakings it has given, even when these run directly counter to the long-cherished provisions of the *Sharia* Law. But it is not easy; it cannot be easy in the very nature of the case, for the common people quickly to adjust their minds to the new legal situation, and to eradicate from their outlook the results covering many centuries of a system which implies the superiority of Islam over the non-Moslem minority groups. The legal guarantees of liberty and equality represent the goal towards which the country is moving, rather than the expression of the present thoughts and wishes of the population. The movement, however, is in the right direction, and it may yet prove possible for Islam to disentangle religious faith from political status and privilege.

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# IBN AL-QAIYIM'S KITĀB AL-RŪḤ

The words "spirit" and "soul" and the ideas which underlie them enlist the interest of the theologians, philosophers and psychologists of every generation. The nature of the human spirit (*rūḥ*) or soul (*nafs*) has been a living issue in Islām. The doctrine of a purely immaterial soul, inherited from Plato, Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists, was dominant in an influential school of Muslim thought, which included al-Ghazālī, Islām's foremost theologian. On the other hand, non-philosophical Muslims of strictest orthodoxy, such as Ibn al-Qaiyim (d. 751/1350), rejected the immateriality of the soul, and maintained that it was corporeal. Ibn al-Qaiyim's view of *al-rūḥ* and *al-nafs* is important, for it represents the belief of the great majority of Muslims to the present day.

Ibn Qaiyim al-Jawzīyah (i. e., the son of the director of the school known as al-Jawzīyah in Damascus) was a Damascene, and a Ḥanbalite theologian. His real name was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bin Abī Bakr. He was a faithful disciple and editor of Ibn Taimīyah (d. 728/1328), who was considered the greatest Ḥanbalite of his time. Ibn Rajab (d. 800/1397), who studied under Ibn al-Qaiyim, described him as being "superlatively expert in canon law and its fundamental principles and in the Arabic language, as well as in the science of theology and other things," and "learned in mysticism and the theological doctrines, the allusions and the experiences of the Ṣūfīs." Two editions of Ibn al-Qaiyim's *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* ("Book of the Spirit") have been published at Haidarābād Dakhan (A. H. 1318 and 1324).

Our author divides his book into twenty-one Problems or Chapters. The first three present proofs of communication between the living and the dead and among the dead themselves. The fourth holds that the spirit "dies" in the sense of leaving the body, and that it remains in bliss or punishment to the time of its return to the body. The fifth Problem offers arguments for one of the author's principal doctrines, the materiality of the spirit, and upholds its individuality and distinguishableness after its departure from the body. The following nine Problems deal with the Questioning of Munkar and Nakīr and the Punishment of the Grave. The fifteenth Problem outlines the dominant views of where spirits remain between death

and the Day of Resurrection. The next three Problems discuss such varied matters as the ways in which the dead benefit by the effort of the living, the Qur'ānic meanings of *rūḥ,* and the priority of the creation of bodies to that of spirits.

The nineteenth Problem brings to a focus the author's main thesis. His definition of the *rūḥ* expresses his conception of its corporeality, and of its relationship to the physical, organic body. He refutes the Aristotelian, Neo-Platonic doctrine of an immaterial soul, as accepted by al-Ghazālī, Ibn Sīnā, and other philosophical theologians.

The twentieth Problem discusses numerous meanings of the words *nafs* and *rūḥ.* The twenty-first shows how those aspects of the soul which are called "upbraiding" and "commanding to evil" (cf. the New Testament "flesh") may be resolved into the soul at rest with its Lord.

Ibn al-Qaiyim is a literalistic theologian of the Ḥanbalite line. As such he is consistent in fitting a material soul or spirit into a material scheme. His study of Qur'ān and *Sunnah* convinces him that the world of the grave and beyond, like this world, is concrete. The angels bring shroud and spices to the grave. They strike the unbeliever with an iron hammer. The believer's grave widens for him, while the unbeliever's grave contracts and squeezes his ribs. Paradise has rivers and fruit trees. The *nafs* moves and is handled. For Ibn al-Qaiyim the soul is a created material substance, and he resists every effort to impose an immaterial, abstract philosophy upon a literal, corporeal system.

Ibn al-Qaiyim, an ardent defender of the purity and simplicity of Islām, goes back to "first sources and principles in everything." A thorough student of the sources of innovation and error, he shows how they lead to confusion and oppose the true faith. His ultimate criteria are Qur'ān, *Sunnah,* the Agreement of the Companions, and the evidences of reason and inherent nature (*al-fiṭrah*). *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* is obviously written in an atmosphere of controversy. The author is in sharp disagreement with al-Ghazālī and all who posit an incorporeal soul and repudiate spatial, material concepts. His utter devotion to Qur'ān and *Sunnah* sometimes leads him into deep waters. For example, in dealing with well attested but admittedly contradictory traditions on the subject of where spirits remain between death and the Day of Resurrection (Problem xv), he apparently transcends the bounds of reason in affirming that the stories, despite their conflict, are mutually confirmatory. However, he makes his adherence to his fundamental authorities seem quite plausible in Problem xix, where he demonstrates that his opponents' views of "man" (*al-insān*) and *al-rūḥ* are hopelessly confused, and claims that only his own definitions can show the way out. Ibn

al-Qaiyim is a purist, pointing to and insisting on the bases of the traditional faith. His materialistic system, acceptable to the vast majority of Muslims, has been instrumental in keeping Islām true to its genius for theological concretion.

Brief summaries of the twenty-one Problems of *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* follow.

### I. Do the Dead Know about the Visiting and Greeting of the Living?

Ibn al-Qaiyim maintains, on the Prophet's authority, that a dead man recognizes a fellow Muslim who passes by or visits his grave, and also returns his greeting. The dead man hears the beating of the sandals of those who say farewell to him, when they leave him. The Prophet prescribed a law for his people, that they should greet the people of the graves as they would greet one with whom they were talking face to face, one endowed with the powers of hearing and reason. The Fathers agree that the dead one is aware of and enjoys the visit of the living one.

The author relates, among other traditions, one from Bishr Bin Manṣūr to the effect that a certain man, during a time of plague, used to go regularly to the cemetery and perform the Worship at Funerals. When evening came he would stand at the gate of the cemetery and say, "Allah cheer your loneliness, and have compassion on your being in a strange place, and pass over your sin, and accept your good deeds." The man went out one evening and returned to his family without visiting the graveyard. That night a company of people came to him in his sleep, saying that they were the people of the graves. They requested him to resume his petitions for them in the cemetery, and he complied.

The author discusses Qur'ān-recitation at graves. Some of the Fathers stipulated when dying that one should recite at their graves at the time of burial. Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal condemned the practice as an innovation at first, because he had received no tradition about it. After hearing a reliable tradition he said that recitation was permissible. Al-Shāfi'ī allowed that there was no harm in the practice. Ibn al-Qaiyim recounts traditions which cite benefits derived from recitation at the grave.

The writer upholds the continuous, universal and well approved custom of dictation to the dead one, who hears the dictation and benefits by it; otherwise, the practice would be futile, merely an address to earth, wood, stone, and the non-existent. Abū Dāwūd related in his *Sunan* in an *isnād* to which there is no objection, that the Prophet said at the burial of a man, "Ask confirmation for your brother, for he is now being questioned." Since he was being questioned, he could hear the dictation.

Ibn al-Qaiyim maintains the reasonableness of the dead one's knowledge of the living one's visiting him, and his greeting to him and his prayer for him, by demonstrating the dead's knowledge of minute details concerning those who are still alive. We cite two of his illustrations. The first is a story about al-Ṣa'b Bin Jathāmah and 'Awf Bin Mālik. They agreed that the first to die should appear to the survivor. Ṣa'b died and appeared to 'Awf in sleep. Ṣa'b related what had happened to him, and instructed 'Awf to pay a debt which he owed to a certain Jew. The visitor knew of the recent death of a cat in his family, and prophesied that his own daughter would die within six days. 'Awf visited the Jew named in the dream and verified the circumstances of Ṣa'b's debt. He learned from Ṣa'b's family that the cat had died as reported. He found the daughter feverish and she died within the designated six days.

A well authenticated story relates that after Thābit Bin Qais Bin Shammās was killed in the battle of al-Yamāmah, a man removed his coat of mail. Thābit appeared to a certain man in sleep, and told him the identity of the thief, and the location of his tent and of the coat of mail in it. Thābit instructed the man to go to Khālid Bin al-Walīd, and to ask him to send for the coat of mail. He also commanded him to tell Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq about several personal matters, such as paying some of Thābit's debts and freeing certain of his slaves. Both Khālid and Abū Bakr agreed to execute Thābit's last command. Their action on the basis of the dream-vision is pure jurisprudence, Ibn al-Qaiyim holds, consistent with the law of Islām.

II. Do the Spirits of the Dead Meet and Visit one another?

The writer answers the question by saying that there are two classes of spirits, punished and favored. The punished ones are too preoccupied to visit and meet one another. The favored spirits are free to visit and confer together on their former life in the world, and on the present affairs of the people of the world. Every spirit is with its companion whose work is the same. The spirit of the Prophet is among the highest company. Allah said, "Whosoever obey Allah and the Messenger, are with those whom Allah has favored of the prophets, the confirmers, the martyrs, and the upright ones; and those are goodly company" (Qur'ān iv:71). This association holds good in the world, in *al-Barzakh* and in the abode of recompense. Traditions relate that Allah revealed Qur'ān iv:71 when some of the Companions and Helpers were humbly and anxiously asking the Prophet whether their association with him would continue after death.

## III. Do the Spirits of the Living and the Spirits of the Dead Meet Together?

The author holds that the spirits of the living and of the dead meet (in sleep), as the spirits of the living meet. He quotes Qur'ān xxxix:43 as a fundamental text: "Allah takes souls to Himself at the time of their death, and in their sleep those who have not died; and He retains those upon whom He has decreed death, and He sends back the others for a designated period." He interprets this as meaning that Allah takes souls to Himself at death and in sleep, and sends back the living souls (those which have been asleep) to their bodies for the completion of their term of life.

He cites many examples of intercourse between living, sleeping souls, and the dead. "The living one sees the dead one in his sleep and seeks information of him. The dead one informs him of what the living one does not know, and his information comes to pass as he was informed." The dead one designates the location of hidden treasure, hitherto known only to himself; or he tells of a deed which he committed, and concealed from everyone. He also specifies the details of debts which he owed, or foretells a death in the sleeper's family.

Ibn al-Qaiyim states that dream-vision is of three kinds: a vision from Allah, a vision from the Evil One, and a vision from the invention (*ḥadīth*) of the soul (i. e., spontaneous suggestion). The authentic dream-vision has the following divisions: (1) minor inspiration (*ilhām*), the speech which Allah addresses to His creature in sleep; (2) the likeness which the angel-messenger of the vision indicates to the sleeper; (3) the meeting of the spirit of the sleeper with the spirits of his dead relatives and friends; (4) the ascent of his spirit to Allah and His addressing it; (5) the entering of his spirit into the Garden, and its witnessing, etc. The meeting of the spirits of the living and the dead, then, is one of the kinds of authentic dream-vision.

He presents three views of dream-visions, expresses his preference for the third, and amplifies it. (1) The bits of knowledge are latent in the soul, but the latter is too preoccupied with the world of sensation to examine them. During its detachment in sleep, it sees some of these elements of knowledge in accordance with its preparation. Its more perfect detachment in death makes its knowledge more perfect. (2) The dream-visions are bits of knowledge which Allah has attached to the soul directly, without any secondary cause. Ibn al-Qaiyim strongly opposes this view. (3) He quotes others as saying, "The visions are made likenesses (*amthāl*) which Allah makes for the creature in accordance with his preparation. These He formed by the hand of the angel-messenger of the vision.

So, one time it is a made likeness, and another time it is the very thing which the seer sees, and it agrees with the objective reality as knowledge conforms to the thing that is known." He avers that the last statement is nearer the truth than the other two, but that the vision has other causes: the meeting of the spirits and their giving information to one another; the angel-messenger's casting that which is in the heart and mind; and the spirit's seeing things directly, without any mediator.

The author concludes his discussion of intercourse between living and dead spirits with more accounts of dreams, in which the dead give religious counsel, locate buried treasure and prescribe medicine which proves effective. Only those who have no knowledge of spirits deny this type of experience.

### IV. Does the Spirit Die, or Does Death Come to the Body Alone?

Ibn al-Qaiyim states two opinions of the matter, and gives his own conclusion. (1) Some say, "The spirit dies and tastes death because it is a soul, and 'every soul is a taster of death'" (Qur'ān iii:182; xxi:36; xxix:57). They hold that only Allah remains. Citing Qur'ān xl:11, in which the people of the Fire say, "Our Lord, Thou hast killed us twice and hast brought us to life twice," they claim that the first death is the body's and the second the spirit's. (2) Others say, "Spirits do not die, for they are created for survival; only bodies die." There are traditions which point to the bliss and punishment of spirits until Allah returns them to their bodies. If spirits died, bliss and punishment would be cut off from them. Allah said, "Do not consider those who have been killed in the way of Allah dead, but alive with their Lord, with provision made for them, rejoicing in what Allah brought them of His favor, and being glad for those who have not reached them of those who come after them" (Qur'ān iii:163, 164). This is stated along with decisive proof that their spirits have left their bodies and tasted death.

Discussing the two views mentioned above, the writer says that the death of souls is their separation and departure from their bodies. Thus they are "tasters of death." They do not, however, die in the sense of vanishing and becoming non-existent. They remain in bliss or in punishment until Allah returns them to their bodies.

The author answers the question, "At the blast on the trumpet, do spirits remain alive as they are, or die, then come to life?" by quoting Qur'ān xxxix:68, "There shall be a blast on the trumpet, and those who are in the heavens and those who are on the earth shall swoon, save those whom Allah wills." Some claim that those excepted from the swooning are the martyrs, others that they are

various angels, and still others that they are the nymphs of Paradise. It is not necessary to infer the spirits' death from their fainting at the blast.

### V. How Spirits are Distinguished from one another after their Separation from their Bodies

Ibn al-Qaiyim repudiates the answer of those who describe the soul as immaterial, non-spatial and without form; and of those who define it as one of the attributes of the body. The correct answer must be based on Qur'ān and *Sunnah,* and traditions, reflection and reason. He says that the spirit is "a self-subsisting essence which ascends and descends, and attaches and detaches, and leaves and goes and comes, and moves and is at rest." He asserts that there are more than one hundred proofs of this position. In support of his view he points out that Allah says that the *nafs* enters and leaves, is grasped and taken, and returns; it ascends to heaven and the doors of heaven open for it and close upon it. He cites Qur'ān vi:93, in which the angels say, "Send forth your souls," Qur'ān lxxxix:27-30, where the tranquil soul is commanded to return to its Lord and enter among His creatures and enter His Garden, and Qur'ān xci:7, which states that Allah made the soul symmetrical (as He made the body symmetrical, Qur'ān lxxxii:7). The body and the soul acquire good and evil mutually from each other, and are closely related. Ugly bodies and souls, and beautiful ones, the author claims, are usually combined and match each other.

He quotes the Prophet as saying that the sight of the dead one follows his soul when it is grasped, and that it has an odor, either fragrant or foul. Attributes, on the other hand, are not handled and have no odor.

A description of the status of various spirits follow. Ibn al-Qaiyim considers "soul" and "spirit" to be identical and interchangeable terms. According to the Prophet, the spirit of the believer is a bird nibbling among the trees of the Garden, and the spirits of the martyrs are in the crops of green birds in the Garden. Allah said of the spirits of the people of Pharaoh, "They are exposed to the Fire morning and evening" (Qur'ān xl:49), and of the spirits of the martyrs, "They are alive with their Lord, with provision made for them" (Qur'ān iii:163).

The writer concludes that, after the separation from their bodies, spirits are more clearly distinguished from one another than bodies are. While the bodies of a believer and an unbeliever may be alike, their spirits are very different. Two brothers may resemble each other in appearance, and yet have dissimilar spirits. If the lofty spirits, angels and *jinn,* are distinguished from one another without their bodies, the distinction of human spirits is more likely.

### VI. Does the Spirit Return to the Dead One in his Grave at the Time of the Questioning?

Ibn al-Qaiyim states that the Prophet is sufficient authority for the spirit's return to the dead one for the Questioning. A tradition from him tells how the good soul is taken and brought before Allah, Who says, "Write the record-book of My creature in *'Illīyūn* and return him to the earth; for I created them from it, and to it I cause them to return, and from it I bring them out another time" (an allusion to Qur'ān xx:57). His spirit returns into his body and two angels question him. He answers correctly and is assured of the Garden. The evil soul, on the other hand, is rejected at the lowest heaven, and returns into its body. Its unbelieving possessor answers the two angels incorrectly, and learns that he is destined for the Fire. Ibn al-Qaiyim stresses the importance of the foregoing tradition, stating that, by virtue of it, Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal, Abū Dāwūd and many others accepted the doctrine of the spirit's return for the Questioning.

The author refutes Abū Muḥammad Bin Ḥazm, who denies that the dead one lives in his grave before the Day of Resurrection, and that the body in the grave has sensation, such as hearing. Ibn Ḥazm also claims that no sound tradition from the Prophet upholds the return of the spirits of the dead to their bodies at the time of the Questioning. Ibn al-Qaiyim replies that the "life" in the grave referred to is different from life as commonly known in the world. He quotes from the Qur'ān and the Prophet to show that the dead can and do hear under certain circumstances. Naming various authorities, he reaffirms the soundness of his fundamental proof of the return, the facts related in the tradition from the Prophet mentioned at the beginning of this Problem. He quotes Ibn Taimīyah as saying, "The sound traditions from different lines indicate the return of the spirit to the body at the time of the Questioning." It is pointed out that the return is a special kind for the Questioning, different from the spirit's former attachment to the body in the world.

The author maintains that punishment and bliss are upon soul and body together. He states that this is the view of Ibn Taimīyah and the Fathers. He refutes those who claim that punishment and bliss are upon the body without the spirit, or upon the spirit without the body. He asserts that many traditions from the Prophet, as found in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* and the *Sunan,* confirm the punishment of the grave and the Questioning of Munkar and Nakīr. He cites a number of them, and refutes deniers of the punishment of the grave. Problem vi terminates with the identification of the punishment of the grave with the punishment of *al-Barzakh,* and with a

statement that punishment reaches the spirit and body of everyone who deserves it, even when the body is left unburied, or devoured by wild beasts, or burned or crucified or drowned.

## VII. A Reply to Those Who Deny the Punishment of the Grave

Misunderstanding of Allah and His Messenger, Ibn al-Qaiyim claims, is the source of every innovation and error which has occurred in Islām. He specifically names, among those who have fallen into such misunderstanding, the Qadarites, the Murji'ites, the Khārijites, the Mu'tazilites, the Jahmites and the Rāfiḍites.

Allah, we are told, has appointed special and exclusive rules for the world, for *al-Barzakh* and for the abode of permanence. The rules of the world are primarily for bodies and secondarily for spirits; the opposite is true of the rules of *al-Barzakh.* Bodies extend punishment to spirits in the world; the process is reversed in *al-Barzakh.*

The author points out that the events of death and the Hereafter are veiled from many people in the world. His fundamental text is Qur'ān lvi:82-84, "Why, when (the soul of a dying man) has reached the throat, and you at that time see, and We are nearer to him than you, although you do not see." When Allah's angel-messenger appears to the spirit, those present neither see nor hear him. They are unaware of what is happening when the spirit goes forth, and ascends between two ranks of angels, and sees the washing and the shrouding of the body.

Allah, it is explained, averts the sight of the punishment of the grave from the creature because he cannot bear it. Many of those who have been permitted to see the punishment of the grave have fainted or even died. Allah can extend the grave and hide the extension from men. They see it as narrow, while in reality it is wide and luminous. Allah usually reveals only worldly things to people in the world, and conceals the Hereafter, so that men may find happiness in acknowledging it and believing in it.

The author amplifies his identification of the punishment and bliss of the grave with the punishment and bliss of *al-Barzakh* (see end of summary of Problem vi). The punishment and bliss of *al-Barzakh* (which is the interval between the world and the Hereafter) reach the crucified one, the burned one, the drowned one, and the one devoured by beasts and birds. Deserved punishment overtakes the body swinging from a tree in the wind, while bliss reaches the upright man buried in a fiery oven.

In further explanation of *al-Barzakh,* Ibn al-Qaiyim cites the Qur'ānic first and second (or, lesser and greater) Resurrections, as mentioned in many passages. He defines the first Resurrection as

the departure of the spirit from the body and its coming to the abode of the first recompense (*al-Barzakh*), and the second as being on the day when Allah returns the spirits to their bodies, and sends them to the Garden or the Fire. The punishment and bliss of *al-Barzakh* are the first punishment and bliss of the Hereafter. The recompense of good or of evil (the Garden or the Fire) is finally and completely paid in the abode of permanence on the occasion of the second Resurrection.

### VIII. Why Doesn't the Qur'ān Mention the Punishment of the Grave?

The general answer to the question is, Allah revealed *al-kitāb* and *al-ḥikmah* to Muḥammad, and made faith in them and action according to them obligatory on His creatures. *Al-kitāb* is the Qur'ān and *al-ḥikmah* is the *Sunnah,* by the agreement of the Fathers. The detailed answer is, the bliss and punishment of *al-Barzakh* are mentioned in the Qur'ān in many places. Ibn al-Qaiyim cites the following passages: vi:93; xxxii:21; xl:48, 49; lii:45-47; lvi:82-96; lxxxix:27-30. He asserts that the traditions of the punishment and bliss of the grave detail and explain what the Qur'ān indicates.

### IX. For what Offenses are the Dead Punished?

Broadly speaking, people are punished for their ignorance in regard to Allah, their neglect of His command, and their disobedient acts against Him. Ibn al-Qaiyim specifies the punishment of the grave as being on account of "disobediences in heart, eye, ear, mouth, tongue, belly, sex organs, hand, foot, and the entire body." His first examples are found in a tradition from the Prophet concerning two men who were being punished in their graves, one for slander, the other for neglect of the ablution from urine. After citing other traditions, the writer presents a long list of offenders who are punished in their graves for their faults. These include, among many others, the liar, the perjurer, the boaster, the fault-finder, the inviter to innovation, the thief, the adulterer, the drunkard, the deviator from the prohibition of Allah, those who consult soothsayers, astrologers and diviners, and those who neglect the poor. Since most people are guilty of one or more of the offenses named, they are punished in their graves. The outward parts of the graves are dust but their inward parts are sighs and punishment.

### X. The Means of Deliverance from the Punishment of the Grave

Ibn al-Qaiyim mentions repentance before sleep, and cites traditions from the Prophet concerning deliverance from the punishment of the grave.

XI. Is the Questioning in the Grave for Muslims, Hypocrites and Unbelievers, or Only for Muslims and Hypocrites?

The writer states that, according to the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, the Questioning is for Muslims, hypocrites and unbelievers. He cites Qur'ān xiv:32, al-Bukhārī's statement that both the hypocrite and the unbeliever are questioned, and a tradition from the Prophet related by Aḥmad Bin Ḥanbal, describing the Questioning of Muslim, hypocrite and unbeliever.

XII. Is the Questioning of Munkar and Nakīr exclusively for this (the Muslim) People, or for them and others?

Ibn al-Qaiyim says that there is no decisive evidence. He quotes Abū 'Abdallāh al-Tirmidhī, who believes that the Questioning is for this people exclusively; 'Abdal-Ḥaqq al-Ishbīlī and al-Qurṭubī, who maintain that it is also for others; and other authorities who are noncommittal.

XIII. Are Children Examined in their Graves?

The author answers in the negative. A child cannot reply to the question, "What did you use to say about this man who has been sent among you?" Even though his reason returned to him in the grave, he would not be asked about what he would not be able to know of by experience or learning. There is an examination in the Hereafter, but it does not deal with obedience or disobedience in the world, like the Questioning of the two angels in the grave.

Those who hold that children are examined in their graves point out that Allah prescribed the Worship and Petition for them. A typical tradition is one in Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'* on the authority of Abū Hurairah: "He performed a Funeral Worship at the funeral of a boy, and there was heard of his petition, 'O Allah, protect him from the punishment of the grave.'" Ibn al-Qaiyim replies that the "punishment of the grave" here is not punishment for sin, but the pain which reaches the dead one on account of someone else. He quotes Muḥammad's statement, "The dead one is punished by the weeping of his people for him; . . . . that is, he feels pain on account of that and he suffers from it. He is not paid back for the sin of the living." The writer says that there is, in the grave, "something of pains and cares and sighs which sometimes leaves its trace on the child, and he suffers because of it. So there is prescribed for the one who prays for the child that he ask Allah on his behalf to guard him against that punishment."

XIV. Whether the Punishment of the Grave is continuous or temporary

Ibn al-Qaiyim answers that it is continuous, with certain exceptions. One who has committed a minor sin is punished for it;

then the punishment is lightened for him, like being punished in the Fire for a time, and then it quits him. It may be removed from him by prayer or almsgiving or some other pious act on the part of a relative or friend. The writer emphatically points out, with Qur'ānic proofs, that such intercession is made only after obtaining Allah's permission.

XV. Where Spirits Remain between Death and the Day of Resurrection

The author shows, by means of many contradictory traditions, that there is a wide difference of opinion. He states that the predominant positions are as follows: (1) the spirits of the prophets are in the Highest *'Illīyūn;* (2) the spirits of some of the martyrs are in the crops of green birds in the Garden; the spirits of other martyrs are restrained from entering the Garden because of debt; (3) some are held at the door of the Garden; (4) some are held in their graves, like a certain man who embezzled a mantle; (5) according to a tradition of Ibn 'Abbās, the martyrs are at the door of the Garden in a green dome; (6) some souls are held in the earth, because they are base and earthly, unable to associate with heavenly souls. In the world they neither associated with heavenly souls, nor knew or drew near to Allah; therefore they cannot do so after leaving their bodies; (7) some souls are in the oven of adulterers and adulteresses; (8) some are swimming in the river of blood and being struck with stones.

There is no one place of abode for happy and wretched spirits. All the sound traditions, no matter how contradictory they may seem, are true and mutually confirmatory. We must understand them, and realize that knowledge of the soul and its rules and its state is different in kind from knowledge of the body. The soul, although it is in the Garden, that is, in the sky, is joined to the passing away of the grave and the body therein. It is "the swiftest thing in motion and travel, and in rising and falling." It is divided into "unrestricted" and "held," "lofty" and "base."

The soul has four abodes: (1) the womb; (2) this world, in which it develops, and in which it gains good and evil, and the causes of happiness or wretchedness; (3) *al-Barzakh;* and (4) the abode of permanence, the Garden or the Fire. Each abode is greater than the one which preceded it.

XVI. Whether the Spirits of the Dead Benefit by the Effort of the Living

Ibn al-Qaiyim maintains that the spirits of the dead benefit by the effort of the living in two ways: (1) by what the dead one had made preparations for in his lifetime, and (2) by intercessory prayer and requests for forgiveness on the part of Muslims, and

almsgiving, pilgrimage, fasting, etc. The latter acts may be executed for the benefit of the dead either by specific mention or by intention. The most excellent thing that may be given to the dead one is that which is most beneficial. Thus, freeing (from slavery) and almsgiving on his behalf are more excellent than fasting. The best kind of almsgiving is that which meets a particular need, such as giving water to a thirsty man. The author holds that the merit of Qur'ān-recitation, like that of other good works, reaches the dead one.

## XVII. Is the Qur'ānic *Rūḥ* Eternal, or Originated and Created?

The writer answers that it is originated and created. "Allah alone is the Creator, and everything except Himself is a creation of His." This is the position of the Prophets, the Companions, the Followers, the Fathers, and of orthodoxy and Tradition. The contrary view is due to a misunderstanding of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*.

Among his proofs that the *rūḥ* is created, Ibn al-Qaiyim includes the following Qur'ānic verses: (1) "Allah is the creator of everything" (xiii:17); (2) "I created you (Zakarīyā') before, when you were not anything" (xix:10); (3) "Allah created you and what you do" (xxxvii:94); (4) "We created you, then We formed you, then We said to the angels, 'Prostrate yourselves to Adam'" (vii:10); (5) several statements in *Sūrah* i; (6) "Did there not come to man a period of time when he was a thing not remembered?" (lxxvi:1); (7) "Allah takes souls to Himself at the time of their death, and in their sleep those who have not died; and He retains those upon whom He has decreed death, and He sends back the others for a designated period" (xxxix:43). Ibn al-Qaiyim says that "souls" are "spirits" in the last passage.

He gives the true Qur'ānic meanings of *rūḥ*: (1) inspiration (*waḥy*); (2) power (*qūwah*), firmness (*thabāt*), help (*naṣrah*); (3) Jibrīl; (4) the spirit associated with the angels (Qur'ān lxxviii:38; xcvii:4); (5) *'Īsā*. The human spirit, the author points out, appears in the Qur'ān only as *nafs*.

In interpreting the Qur'ānic statements that Allah breathed into Adam some of His *rūḥ*, Ibn al-Qaiyim distinguishes between attributes (knowledge, power, speech) and parts (face, hand) in a relationship (*iḍāfah*) to Allah, and entities which are separate from Him. The attributes and parts are not self-subsisting or created. The separate entities (such as the house of Allah, the she-camel of Allah), on the other hand, are created, and their relationship to Allah is stated to specify and exalt them. "The relationship of the *rūḥ* to Him is of this specific relationship." The spirit breathed into Adam is created, not eternal.

### XVIII. Are Spirits or Bodies Created first?

Ibn al-Qaiyim claims that bodies are created first. His position is, man was first formed of clay; then Allah breathed into him some of His spirit, thus originating the spirit in him. This, he asserts, is the teaching of the Qur'ān and of Tradition.

### XIX. Is the Soul one of the Parts of the Body, or one of its Accidents, or a Body Lodging along with it, Deposited in it; or an Incorporeal Substance? Is it the Spirit or Something Else?

Ibn al-Qaiyim, holding that "man" (*al-insān*) is body and spirit together, claims that this is the doctrine of the Qur'ān, the *Sunnah,* the Companions, the Followers and Tradition. He notes al-Rāzī's statement that the "multitude" and the majority of the scholastic theologians interpret "man" as an expression for "this body and special structure" (al-Rāzī, however, gives seventeen refutations of this position in his *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*). Ibn al-Qaiyim thinks that this alleged doctrine of the "multitude" is the falsest of all statements.

The author defines the *rūḥ* as "a body differing in quiddity from this sensible body, and a body (which is) luminous, lofty, light, living, moving, penetrating the substance of the members, and flowing among them as water flows in a rose and as oil flows in olives and fire in charcoal. While those members remain sound, receptive of the effects flowing from that subtile (*laṭīf*) body, that subtile body is intertwined with those members and gives them those effects of sense and volitional movement. But when those members are corrupted by the domination of coarse humors over them, and are unable to receive those effects, the spirit separates itself from the body and is transferred to the world of spirits." Ibn al-Qaiyim says that the foregoing definition is the only correct, sound one, and that it is supported by the Qur'ān, the *Sunnah,* the Agreement of the Companions, and the evidences of reason and inherent nature. He submits a long series of proofs of this position, and then refutes opponents.

We outline some of the varied and contradictory material which the writer considers, bearing on the relationship of the spirit to the soul, and their relationship to life (*al-ḥayāt*), breath (*al-nafas*), force (*al-qūwah*), bodies (*ajsām*), accidents (*a'rāḍ*), and to the four natures, heat, cold, moisture and dryness. He quotes al-Ash'arī's statement, "Men have differed with regard to the spirit and the soul and life, whether the spirit is life or something else, and whether the spirit is a body or not." Al-Ash'arī cites al-Naẓẓām, "The spirit is a body and it is the soul." According to al-Naẓẓām, "life" and

"force" merely mean "living" and "having force." Al-Ash'arī gives as the position of Ja'far Bin Ḥarb and others, "We do not know whether the spirit is a substance or an accident." Al-Jubbā'ī, according to al-Ash'arī, held that the spirit was a body and that it was other than life, and that life was an accident. Al-Ash'arī states the positions of three groups: the spirit is (1) the symmetrical proportion of the four natures; (2) a fifth principle, other than the four natures; (3) pure blood. Al-Ash'arī quotes from Aristotle, "The soul is an immateriality removed from that which occurs under order and color, and it is a simple substance established in all the world of organic matter, in accordance with its works and management." He also cites Aristotle as saying that the soul is neither a body nor an accident; nor does it occupy space or have length or breadth or depth, or color or part. "It is neither in the world nor outside it, and it has no proximity to it or remoteness from it." The author characterizes Aristotle's doctrine, as quoted by al-Ash'arī (which, he says, is accepted by al-Ghazālī and Ibn Sīnā), as "the worst of the positions and the falsest of them, and the farthest of them from the truth." Ibn al-Qaiyim's material quoted from various writers is indeed a "jungle of confusion," from which he leads us out by means of his definitions of "man" and "spirit," as given at the beginning of the Summary of this Problem.

## XX. Whether the *Nafs* and the *Rūḥ* are one Thing or two Different Things

Ibn al-Qaiyim says that *nafs* means (1) the *rūḥ,* (2) the blood, (3) the body, (4) the (evil) eye. It is used in the Qur'ān for the essence in its entirety, and for the *rūḥ* alone. *Rūḥ* is not used for the body either separately or along with the *nafs.* It is used, however, for the Qur'ān and for inspiration (*waḥy*), which are called *rūḥ* because the useful life comes through them. *Rūḥ* is called *rūḥ* because the life of the body comes through it; the *nafs* is called *rūḥ* for the same reason. The difference between *nafs* and *rūḥ* is a difference in qualities, not in essence.

He lists the views of the traditionists, canon-lawyers and Ṣūfīs who say that the *rūḥ* is other than the *nafs.* Some assert, he points out, that the believer has three *arwāḥ* and the unbeliever one, while the prophets and the *ṣiddīqūn* have five. The author believes that there are different kinds of *rūḥ*: (1) the *rūḥ* which Allah takes in death, which is the *nafs;* (2) the *rūḥ* with which Allah aids His saints; (3) the physical senses (*al-quwā*) which are called *arwāḥ* (the seeing *rūḥ,* the hearing *rūḥ, etc.*). These are different from the *rūḥ* which does not die with the death of the body. *Rūḥ* is used more especially for the sense by which one knows Allah and turns to Him and to the love of Him, and which stirs up a desire to seek

Him and His will. This *rūḥ* is related to the soul as the soul is related to the body. Without it a man is earthly and animal.

XXI. Are the tranquil Soul, the upbraiding Soul and the Soul commanding to Evil three Souls or one?

Ibn al-Qaiyim holds that they are one soul, with attributes. The soul is called by a name in reference to each attribute. Thus, it is called "at rest" in reference to its tranquility toward its Lord, which it receives through its love of Him and its trust in Him. The soul becomes tranquil through tranquility toward the names and attributes of the Lord. One cannot have tranquility without the affirmation, "Thee do we worship and of Thee do we ask assistance" (Qur'ān i:4). Various commentators agree that the tranquil soul is the one which assents and surrenders to Allah.

With regard to the upbraiding soul the author says that *lawwāmah* has two meanings: (1) "upbraided," which is the ignorant, erring soul which Allah and his angels upbraid; (2) "not upbraided," referring to the soul which does not cease upbraiding its possessor for his falling short in obedience to Allah, in spite of his utmost efforts. The noblest soul is the one which upbraids itself concerning obedience to Allah. Allah upbraids the self-satisfied soul which does not upbraid itself.

The soul commanding to evil is the blameworthy soul which commands every evil. Only by Allah's help is one delivered from the evil of his soul. Evil lurking in the soul results in evil deeds. We should ask Allah to deliver us from the evils of our souls and the evils of our deeds. Allah tries mankind with the soul commanding to evil and the upbraiding soul, and honors mankind with the tranquil one. The tranquil soul is the soul in a state of perfection and soundness. Allah has appointed an angel as the tranquil soul's companion and guide, and Satan as the associate and leader of the soul commanding to evil.

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# THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM IN SUMATRA

From the beginning, Islam has been one of the most dangerous adversaries of the Rhenish Mission in Sumatra. Any one among our readers who knows the books of D. Simon [1] is conversant with the difficulties of mission work among the Mohammedans and the troubles which again and again result from the Mohammedan assault upon paganism, and thereby impede the Christian missionary enterprise.

In the year 1933 the situation in the South of Sumatra changed materially. The camp of Islam disintegrated. For a long time past there has been in Java, and now also in Sumatra, the so-called Mohammediya Movement. This "modern" movement is set up in powerful opposition to the front of the old Mohammedans, the Islamiya. These lines of thought are in open warfare with each other. In the mosque of Sipirok, formerly a common enterprise, they even had a hand-to-hand fight with cudgels, and only after the intervention of the police could peace be restored. The separation of the parties took place publicly. A feast was celebrated, at which one group slaughtered seven buffaloes, the other nine. The older group, which may be called the royal group, invited the Resident to participate in their feast. Thus the disunion materialized and gained in importance. However, in the most important places the modern movement has already taken hold of about one-third of the Mohammedan population. The Mohammediya employ eager propaganda. In their circles, all tradition that goes beyond the Koran is rejected. The Koran is the foundation for religious precepts and laws. This rigorous

[1] *Unter den Mohammedanern Sumatra's; Missionerfahrungen; Der Islam und das Christentum—Kampf um die Eroberung der animistischen Heidenwelt.* All these books can be obtained at the Buchhandlung der Rheinischen Mission, W.-Barmen, Schönebecker Str. 2.

enforcement of what is written in the Koran affords the movement a certain power. Besides, it lends the movement a strong impulse toward modern means of propaganda and education. Path-finder groups (Boy Scouts) in smart apparel march through the streets on Fridays. Public discussions are organized, in which the Bible is open to comment. They even buy Bibles and New Testaments, and invite Christians to argue about questions of faith. One of the leading ecclesiastics of Padang, Sidempuan, challenged the missionary of that town to enter into a public discussion about religion. The defeated party was to accept the faith of the other. In the mosques preaching is carried on after Christian models. Speakers from abroad describe, not in Arabic, but in the tongue of the Bataks, the superiority and the beauty of the Mohammedan faith, and attempt to give some sort of exegesis similar to Christian homilies. They point to the congeniality between Christianity and Mohammedanism, showing how the Bible and the Koran mutually corroborate each other. Do not the Mohammedans also believe in Christ? Do they not also know what John the Baptist said: "One mightier than I is coming"? "But this refers to Mohammed," they say. At the same time, books are distributed which criticize the Bible. The material for them is furnished by Haeckel, Nietzsche, and others. "You can see," the Mohammedan says with a superior air, "even the western professors make no secret of what they think about your God and your Christ."

From the centre of the country the missionary in charge of Sitorang reports an ardent propaganda of the Mohammedans which promises great success, though little of it has become visible. In Balige they proceed more cautiously. They try to get hold of Christians who are under church discipline, and have succeeded with individuals who have married a second wife. Sometimes they also try to entice a person by money. A well-to-do trader, who in this place is the leader of the whole movement, attends to this. He, for instance, lends twenty or thirty florins to a Christian, thus providing him with the means of carrying on

his trade. Besides, he does not refrain from speaking against the missionary, who does not render assistance to the Batak in such cases. During the first months no interest is to be paid, but before the man receives the money, he and his family must be "baptized with the lemon," which means he is made a proselyte of Islam. When chieftains are elected they also try to ensnare the people by money. But as they cannot offer substantial spiritual values to the Christians, these methods do not help them much. Nay, many of those who have been misdirected soon find their way back to the church.

From the district Uluan, to the east of the Toba Lake, we hear of the erection of new mosques and eager propaganda of two or three *Hadjis* (pilgrims to Mecca). Whenever the missionary is on the road he sees them sauntering along in their long white cloaks. Now and then they have slight collisions. However, when acting resolutely, it is not difficult to keep the Mohammedans in their proper place. In those parts of the Church in which the Mohammedans are most active, the heathen come in troops and ask for baptism. During the last two years about two thousand heathens have been baptized in this district. "Islam by its activity and propaganda has been an incentive to us to make more strenuous efforts to fulfil our duty. We have occasionally baptized earlier than usual, to gain advantage of the *Hadjis,* for if a heathen has joined Islam, he is in most cases lost for Christianity. Nevertheless about twenty or thirty people have come back to us. The number of Mohammedans in our territory is stated to be at present two thousand. The last census showed only fifteen hundred. This may easily be accounted for, considering that in the Moslem plantations near by, only those who have joined Islam find work. Not one in Uluan has become a Mohammedan from conviction," writes the missionary of that locality.

Northeast of Toba Lake, Islam has made more progress, as our missionaries report. Thirty years ago this territory seemed destined to fall almost totally into the

hands of Islam. The entry of Christian missions in due time happily prevented the final victory of Islam, and it now looks as if things are taking a turn in our favor.

The pagan population in Saribudolok shows little desire to become Mohammedan, though Islam is still making slow progress in Raja. In this place there is a Mohammedan house of prayer. An intelligent Batak lately declared: "I shall not become a Mohammedan, for becoming a convert to this religion means an entry into a morally disorderly community. Only those who do not care for the manners and customs of their fathers join Islam." Several of the princely families of this district are Christian. Some of them are faithful to their Church, as for example in Pane. In Purba the youthful prince declared before the assembled chieftains that he was half Christian and half Mohammedan! In Silimakuta the Radja inaugurated a school feast with prayer. In Bandar, where thirty years ago our missionary D. Simon started the work, and where ten years ago we had to close our school, there is today a fine little church with a membership of over two hundred. The families that had formerly joined Islam came back to us. It is a great pity that we resumed the work so late! The great bulk of the population went over to Islam, because the princes wanted it. In a little chapel-of-ease (branch church) only five families offered resistance and bravely professed their Christian faith. When work began, the school was pelted with stones on Sundays. Gradually this animosity died out.

In Sidikalang and Baros the situation is different. Our missionaries can report positive progress. In the western part of this district the Mohammedans have built four mosques in places where hitherto there were none. But though they used active propaganda, which we do not make light of, they were able to win only a few adherents. We, on the contrary, succeeded in making entrance across the frontier as far as Atjeh, where in Kota-Karagan, a decidedly Mohammedan district, the heathen petitioned for messengers of the Gospel and remained firm in spite of all

machinations of the Mohammedans. When the missionary finally visited the place, the Mohammedans did not absent themselves, but came to the meeting. In the district of Baros, Islam makes a supreme effort to regain predominance. During recent years it has been very much on the down grade. It is remarkable how many houses of prayer have lately been erected there. Even among the heathen this effort has caused great anxiety, and they are prepared to come to a decision. They are considering to whom they are to give their allegiance, whether to Mohammed or to Christ. Even a teacher in a Mohammedan school recently came to be baptized.

On every side we perceive a resumption of Mohammedan activity, with no proportionate success. The effect upon the Christian congregations is rather encouraging. Conversion to Islam with inner motives is rarely met with. Only outward causes here and there induce Christians who are under church discipline to try their luck with Islam. Among the heathen the intensified propaganda leads to an awakening. They know that their religion will be doomed before long, and begin to ask which religion is the better. Christianity is not always the winner, though in most cases it is. If the chieftains do not hinder the people, they come from all sides and ask to become members of the great Batak Church.

In Christian congregations, especially in the South, the assault of Mohammedanism has aroused great commotion. It is a most dangerous time, when the life of the Christians is often endangered.

It is not easy to state in detail how much heroic spirit and open confession, how much fortitude in suffering can be seen among our Christians in this struggle. How many bitter hours there are, often driving the people to the brink of despair! How often do they who have been exhausted and harassed by Mohammedans come to the missionary, imploring help, uttering words like this: "O missionary, you won't believe how the jeers and gibes of the Mohammedans sting us. You can't form an idea how

it pains our hearts to see the most precious things we possess, the picture of the crucified Saviour, dragged through the mire. Why does our Lord consent to this?"

In long evening meetings the missionary has to speak words of comfort to those who are disturbed in mind, and refer them to God's message, full of life and power. "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength . . . " "Blessed are they which are persecuted and reviled, for my sake . . . . " Such a mutual refreshment inspires confidence and infuses courage. "Missionary, why do you not come oftener? Whenever you have been here and have given us words of instruction and comfort, the combat is at once much easier, and our courage is restored." Such words as these are spoken to our missionaries on parting.

With regard to the southern part of the country, we can report that the increased combat with Islam, generally speaking, has been a blessing in disguise. Isolated Christians, especially immigrant Tobanese, who in their pure Christian homes had known nothing of adversaries of Christianity, were momentarily frightened; quite a number of them lost courage and went over to Islam. At the same time many, when encountering opposition, are forced to give an account of their faith. It induces them personally to get a clear understanding about questions relating to God and Jesus Christ. It urges them of their own accord to search the Scriptures, which alone can answer these questions. The blessing accruing from this bestows permanent benefit, not only upon them individually, but also upon the Church. We win back quite a number of Christians who for some time had joined the Mohammedans. In two cases half the village returned in a body, while in other villages single families asked to be taken back into the Church. These again and again remind us vividly of the Prodigal Son's return to his father after roaming about in the world. Almost without exception the reason assigned for coming back is home-sickness, longing for the communion of saints, for the consoling and strengthening word of the Gospel, and, last but not least, longing after the

beautiful hymns of the Christian congregation. Again and again it becomes evident what an immense power comes from our Christian hymns and how mightily they influence our people. More than once it has happened that a returning man or woman, attending church service again for the first time, signs the old hymns with tearful eyes. With a penitent heart he says, "Never again will I leave Jesus."

The split in the Mohammed congregations is a matter of consequence for our Christian congregations, as it offers them new possibilities for evangelism. It keeps religious discussion going. The adherents of the Mohammediya no longer coolly pass by Christianity. The question, "Which is God's word, the Koran or the Bible?" recurs again and again, and the old question, "What think ye of Christ?" is brought nearer to the center of the debate, both in public meetings and in private conversation.

The hatred of the Mohammedans often assumes very serious forms. In the Department of Padang Sidempuan the reason for the increased fanaticism may be seen, besides the aforementioned religious revival, in the fact that Christianity in the once Mohammedan Mandailing has grown in a way that a few years ago no person would have thought possible. Only about ten years ago it would have been impossible for a Christian to have a settled abode in this Department. How little the inhabitants of Mandailing knew about Christianity is shown by their amazement, when for the first time they met with immigrant Christians at the weekly market and ascertained that they also were human beings, exactly the same as themselves. The Mohammedan priests had taken good care to instill notions into them about those "impure" Christians!

However, the Mohammedans very soon perceived that the Christians were their superiors in more than one respect. These immigrants from the North could learn a good deal from the Mohammedan population in regard to cleanliness and tidiness, since the latter had been trained by their religious precepts of purification to a certain degree of cleanliness. Nevertheless, the Christians had brought with

them something in which the Mohammedans were sadly deficient, viz., the desire for schools and education. In their Tobanese home, where the mission had spread an extensive network of lower and higher schools, and where every child of the Christian community learned to read and write in early childhood, the appreciation of education had been awakened. Thus very soon, after they had taken up their residence in this part of the country, they began to start schools for their children. This did not fail to impress the Mohammedans, who for the greater part were illiterate persons.

In addition to this there is another phase of the subject. In Toba the people, on account of the nature of the soil at their disposal for the cultivation of rice fields, were forced to utilize every inch of the soil, as painstakingly as possible, in order to win the best possible harvest. It is well known how wonderfully neat and symmetrical a freshly cultivated rice field looks. These large, tidy expanses are often real works of art. Here in the South, where there is a superabundance of soil, in fact more than can be cultivated, and where one can easily harvest twice a year, there was no need of cultivating the soil so intensively. When the astonished local population saw how ingeniously and at the same time how carefully the immigrant Christians cultivated their rice fields, and what high returns the fields yielded, they could not but hold them in higher estimation.

However, the number of immigrants increased more and more. The Mohammedans saw one piece of the virgin forest after another cleared by the Christians and turned into fertile fields and tracts of land, and one Christian village after another spring into existence. When the immigrant Christians were given their own chieftains, who had a voice in the open corporations, and stood on an equal footing with the Mohammedans, a defiant attitude set in instead of the aloofness shown before. The priests waged open war against everything belonging to these "unclean" Christians, leading to very serious consequences. The Mohammedans thereupon took the greatest pains to give

vent to their hatred. In Maga they destroyed the stone cross on the grave of our former missionary, Sister Needham, who twenty years ago had preached the Gospel there, with the blind Batak Bartimäus. Is it not like a triumph of the Cross, and does it not lead us in gratitude and adoration toward God, when we today are able to report that a son of this blind Bartimäus, who is an elder in Mandailing, is now the leader of a church consisting of about fifty Christian families? God has not put to shame the faith of his blind father, and allows the son now to see what he himself was not permitted to live to see.

In the neighborhood of Pengaboengan, on high level ground, lies the lonely grave of Mrs. Dirks, who years ago was engaged in mission work by the side of her husband. The grave is enclosed by a thick cement wall to guard it against prowling animals. Some weeks ago the teacher of the small local Christian community came to the missionary in charge of the district and reported that the grave of Mrs. Dirks had been broken open. Rude hands had not only demolished the well-preserved wooden coffin, but they had even wrought havoc with the zinc coffin and scattered the bones of the dead. An outburst of indignation passed through the ranks of the few Christians when they heard the news, and the insult pained them deeply.

About fifty kilometers away from Pengaboengan, on the main road to the west coast, lies the village Sihepeng, also a colony of immigrated Christians. In the beginning the immigrants could scarcely live in security. As soon as it grew dark the Mohammedans of the village bombarded the huts of the Christians with a shower of stones. In the morning quite a mass of stones that had been thrown on the roofs of the houses during the night had to be carried away. It certainly was not easy for the Christians to keep quiet and endure all these daily and nocturnal hostilities.

Several times Mohammedans tried to set fire to the houses of Christians. Some time ago fire was set to the thatched roofs of several Christian homes in Pakantan, and their enemies even tried to destroy by fire the mission

station, which was unoccupied at the time. However, in all cases serious damage was averted by the Christians. But until recently they had to be on guard by turns during the night in order to be safe from further attacks.

Last year the body of an immigrant Tobanese was found in the neighborhood of Pengaboengan with the head chopped off and thrown in the grass some meters away. Thus the Mohammedan notion that he who kills an "unclean" person thereby is saved, bore fruit.

In Sibulele, a village of about one hundred families, there lived a Mohammedan who had renounced his Christian faith and married a Mohammedan girl. When his first child was born, he resolved to return to his former faith. His wife at first was also prepared to become a Christian. But soon the hostility of all the relatives, and finally of the whole village, made itself felt. The woman was worked upon so long that she finally declared herself willing to sue for a separation from her husband rather than to accept his Christian faith. The man was banished from the village and the young woman brought back the five-weeks-old child to her husband. She was not willing to provide for it if the father remained a Christian. The child was taken some time ago to our missionary sisters in Tarutung, where it enjoys good nursing. This reminds one of the prophet's word: "Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb?" Mohammedan hatred and fanaticism goes so far as to exterminate a mother's love for her own child!

These last few months the assault of Mohammedanism has affected also our educational efforts. The priests have given the watchword: "No Mohammedan child is to attend a Christian school." This has injured our school work in several places. In Pakantan, where we had flourishing boys' and girls' schools with over three hundred children, all our schools, on account of the low enrollment, had to be closed at the end of the year. Here and there the Mohammedans are establishing private schools, in which the reading of the Koran is the principal subject.

Mohammedan priests are trying to weaken the medical activity of our mission by telling the people how this activity proves that Allah the great, who is their God, is caring for them even by sending the great and clever Europeans to them to dress their dirty wounds! At several places where we have dispensaries, as for instance at Sipirok, Pargarutan, and Pakantan, we actually see the services of our Christian medical helpers refused by the Mohammedan population. No one will let himself be touched by an "unclean" person.

What the individual Christians in the village have to suffer from hostilities and persecution of the Mohammedan chieftains is a chapter by itself. Wherever the opportunity presents itself to inflict injury or to wrong a Christian, it is seized. It is quite impossible to give a minute description of all that happens in this region in the interior where Christians are living together with Mohammedans. How often the missionary has to cheer up the oppressed Christian, to speak words of comfort to him and point toward Him who "for the sake of the joy which lay before Him, patiently endured the cross", and this all for us!

It is a hard fight in which our brethren are engaged in withstanding the bitter enemies of the Cross of Christ. But how inspiring it is for them when they can report that one of their community of sixty persons, living in the midst of Mohammedans, has asked for baptism; in other sections, in the North, the East, and the West of the country, hundreds are asking for instruction in the Christian doctrine! When we hear of the many Christians living among the Mohammedans in numerous towns and villages of Sumatra and the whole archipelago, who loyally profess their faith in Christ, and of others who penitently return to it, our hearts are comforted and "we know that our toil is not in vain in the Lord."

*Barmen* EBERHARD DELIUS, *Lic. Theol.*

# SUFI THOUGHT AND CHRISTIAN TEACHING

At the Cairo Missionary Conference of 1906, among the suggestions made by Dr. Rouse for the preparation of tracts for Moslems, were the following: to take up the good things in Islam and show how they are perfected in the Gospel, and to explain misconceptions concerning the Christian religion. With regard to the latter suggestion, we are only too well aware as preachers of the Word to Moslems, that we are not tilling virgin soil. In it weeds have grown in abundance. Our preaching is often met by opposition due to pre-conceptions which are deeply rooted and sometimes from an equally embarrassing acquiescence from uncritical hearers which is no less due to misunderstanding. "Oh yes," they say, "We too believe what you say and no one can excel us in the praise and honour we ascribe to *Hazrat 'Isa.*" How often that praise increases our difficulties and strikes a blow at the truth we wish to expound!

How have these misconceptions arisen? How has the picture of Christ in Islam assumed its definiteness? Are there any elements in that picture of real value to us in proclaiming the message? Many attempts have been made to answer these and similar questions and the misconceptions in the Koran have frequently been dealt with; though even here we have to confess that our knowledge of their origin is very limited. It may be possible, for example, to point to the verse which gives the Surah of the Table its name (v:112), as a confusion of the miracle of the feeding of the multitudes, the discourses of our Lord at the Last Supper and I. Cor. x:21; and representing, perhaps, the confused memory of a sermon which brought these together. It may be possible to seek an explanation for the misconception of the Trinity in that passage of the *Gospel*

*of the Hebrews* in which the Holy Spirit is referred to as "Thy mother," but apart from some few such instances it will be admitted that there are many things which remain unexplained, even if we go no further than the Koran.

But outside the Koran there is a vast literature containing references to Christ and His teaching, some of it misleading and the source of still greater misunderstanding, and some singularly opposite in application to the exposition of Christian thought. These may be found in collections of stories of the prophets, traditions, Sufi writings and, in great abundance, in the writings of Al Ghazali. Here we find the pearl and the rubbish, the true alongside the mean and unworthy.

As an illustration of the way in which false ideas have arisen, the following has come to our notice. In the Cairo printed edition of the *Ihya 'ulum ud-din* of Al Ghazali (Vol. 3. p. 117) a story is told of our Lord where the hundredfold reward mentioned in Matthew xix:29 is interpreted in the Moslem fashion as consisting of the sensual pleasures of Paradise. The application of this in the story is such as to offend our deepest Christian sensibilities, and we wonder how even a Moslem could conceive such incongruities. But when we turn to the comment on this passage in Al Ghazali contained in Miguel Asin's *Agrapha et Logia Domini Jesu apud Moslemicos Scriptores, asceticos praesertim, usitata,* we find that Jerome in commenting on the passage of this Gospel says, "Ut qui unam mulierem pro Domino dimiserit centum recipiat in futuro." Doubtless the aim of Jerome was to commend celibacy but what a wounding in the house of our friend! What if past errors, perpetuated in Islam, are now rising to condemn us! We cannot always be held guiltless of loose speech and careless thinking which have resulted in misunderstanding. But as we become more acquainted with these misconceptions, we shall be more and more inclined to examine ourselves and to weigh carefully the words we use lest we, whose mission it is to guide men into the truth, may lead some poor soul astray. In addition to this we shall have laid the foundation

for fulfilling the second of Dr. Rouse's suggestions: namely, that which refers to the removal of misunderstandings. And to do this we must strike as deeply to the root as we can, for these weeds have gone very deep.

But let us turn to the other suggestion. It may be that some will consider that there is nothing in the Moslem literature which can assist us in our preaching. It is true that if our preaching consists of nothing but tags quoted from poets of a Sufi tendency, then we shall not be able to do much more than confirm Moslems in a regard for their own mystics. But those who have tasted the Water of Life and drawn from the Treasury of Grace will not be content with the wine of the Sufi nor the pearls of Rumi or Hafiz. It is a principle of Logic, however, that the credibility or incredibility of an assertion made to us—apart from the person who makes the assertion—is decided by us according to the relation of the alleged fact to our existing knowledge or habit of thought. In other words, if we are to give effective testimony, we must link our message to something which is more or less familiar to our hearer. We must find the common factor. Now we find that these same tags are on the lips of many of our hearers. Sometimes we do not recognize them but practically every one of us has heard reference to the breath of Jesus (*dam-i-'Isa*). Even those Moslems who belong to no regular school of Sufism have yet a fondness for the *Ghazal* which may or may not bear a mystical interpretation. It is even regarded as the fitting thing for a male adult to become a *murid* to some *pir* and though this is, in many cases, only nominal, in others it means some initiation into Sufi thought. So here we have a means of contact and a vocabulary which is understood by most educated Moslems. Can we shape this to our own use? Let us consider one or two points wherein we may. We wish to bring home the longing of man to be freed from worldliness and to encourage the thought that God has set eternity in our heart. The words of Hafiz come to mind:

*Muzhda-i-wasl-i-tu ku k'az sar-i-jan bar khizam*
*Ta'ir-i-quds-am, wa az dam-i-jahan bar khizam.*

"Where is the good news of union with Thee, that I may rise with my whole heart. I am a bird of Paradise and will soar from the snare of the world."

We wish to indicate that spiritual things are spiritually discerned. Here Maulana Rum says:

*Dida-i-bayad shah shinas: Ta shinasad Shah ra dar har libas.*
"To know the King in every guise
One needs king-recognising eyes."

Or we may turn to the Urdu *Ghazal* of Atash,

*Dida-i-Ya'qub se dekka jo 'alam ki taraf*
*Yusuf is bazar men har su nazar aya mujhe.*
"When I looked at the world with the eyes of Jacob
Joseph appeared to me in every nook and corner of the bazar,"

when we wish to proclaim the truth that to the opened eyes of faith and love the presence of the Beloved is always to be discerned.

But apart from detached instances such as these, in general we may say that *Tasawwuf* represents practically the sole attempt in Islam to break from the thought of the barren transcendence of God which is characteristic of Orthodox Islam. Provided the Christian missionary can guard against the incipient—or in some cases the complete and manifest—pantheism of the Sufis, here he may find a means of countering that undue transcendence which is driving many Moslems into agnosticism. Christian teaching strikes the happy mean between pantheism and the conception of the utter otherness of God. As Pfleiderer has well said in *Religion und Religionen*:

"Christianity sought to combine from the beginning the immanence and the transcendence of God . . . . On the one hand it says 'Thy Kingdom come,' and on the other hand there was a conviction, present from the beginning, that the Kingdom of God is now here, internally, within us, in the form of righteousness, joy and peace wrought by the Divine Spirit in the heart. (Rom. xiv. 7 and Luke xvii. 21). Here, God is the supermundane Lord who guides history towards the purpose of His coming Kingdom and who will destroy all His foes on the judgment day: while there Christian faith in salvation holds the union and reconciliation of the human and the Divine to be a completed fact in the humanization of the Son of God and as a permanent presence, existing through the indwelling of the Divine Spirit in the hearts of God's children

and in the congregation of the faithful whom he consecrated as the temple of God."

With this in view, compare the words of Massignon on Mansur al Hallaj's teaching:

"Before all things, before the creation, before his knowledge of the creation, God in His unity was holding ineffable converse with Himself and contemplating the splendour of His essence in itself. That pure simplicity of His self-admiration is Love. Then God desired to project out of Himself His supreme joy, that Love in solitude, that He might behold it and speak to it."

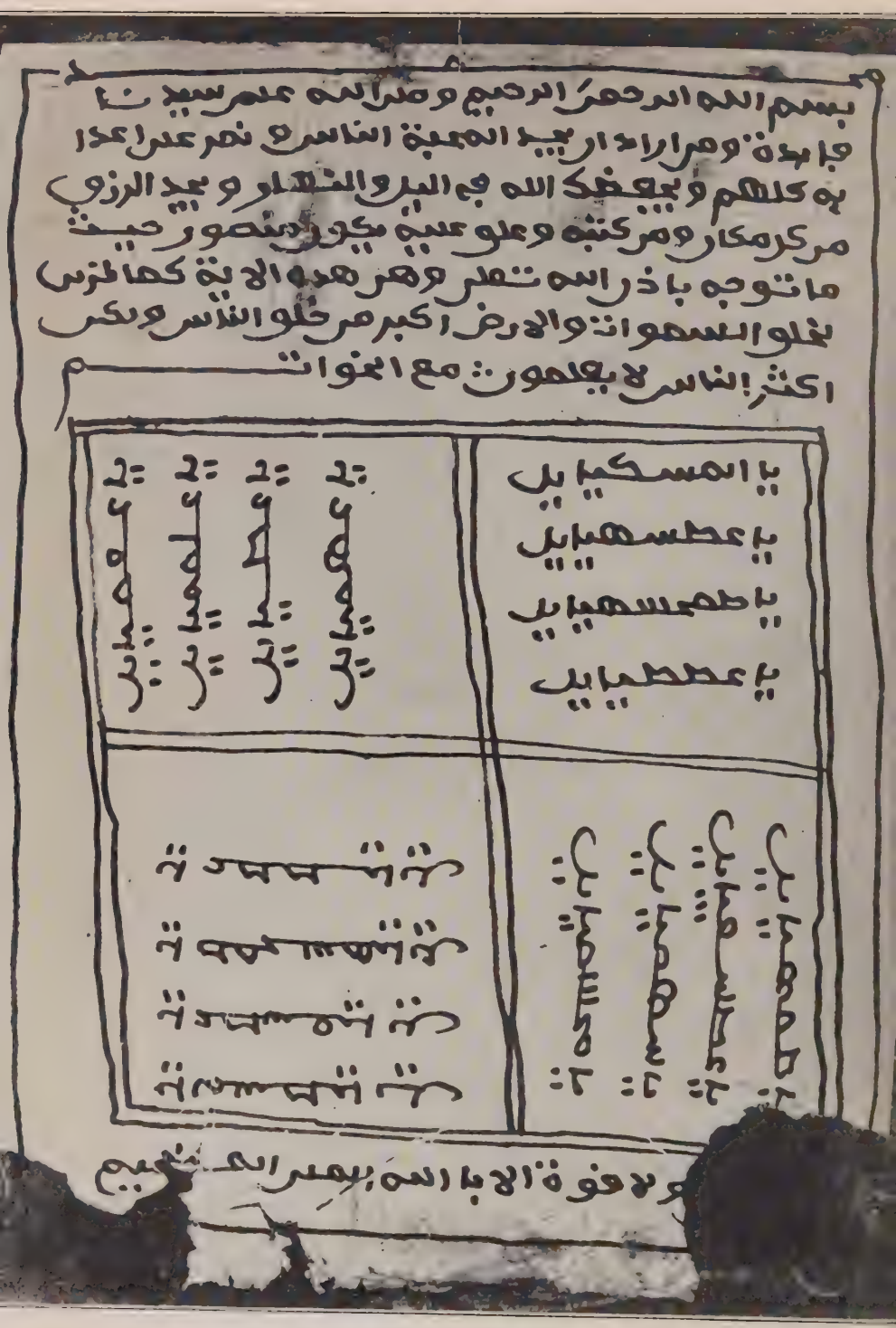
That reminds us of Raymund Lull's defence of the Trinity, and certainly of that great saying of Plato, "He was good and so he desired to impart Himself."

But Hallaj is not alone in this, Many a passage from Hafiz could be quoted, did space permit, and in the *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-din Rumi (Book V. lines 2185ff. of Nicholson's edition), we find words which we could hardly expect to come from the pen of a Moslem with regard to the Love which caused the Universe to be. Strained and warped some of these may be but that is only to be expected from those who have sought without the Light of Lights. Whom they seek, if haply they find Him, *we* can declare in the Father whose most wondrous name is Love.

These are but by way of illustration and in introduction to what may be, for those who will carry the study further, a mine of information, revealing errors which need to be rectified and thoughts which need to be amplified by the glorious Gospel of our blessed Redeemer. The Founder of the M. M. L., [1] the Rev. John Takle (now in retirement in New Zealand, and retaining that interest in the work of his prime, the fruits of which are still seen in his gracious pleading to our Moslem brethren, contained in Sirat-ul-Mustaqim) recently wrote to a friend that he thought a study of Christ in the mystics of Islam would be fruitful. We sincerely concur and from time to time will report the results of our search to our readers.

*Ram Katora, Benares* J. W. SWEETMAN.

[1] The Missionaries to Moslems League of India, from whose *News and Notes* this article is reprinted.



AN ARABIC AMULET

# AN ARABIC AMULET

The amulet of which we see a reproduction came a few years ago into the hands of Professor J. F. McCurdy of the University of Toronto in the following interesting manner.

Mr. Alexander G. Mackie, D.C.M., of the Great War, was in 1895-6 a member of the British expeditionary force which made the final conquest of Ashanti in West Africa, and from the spoil taken from the palace of the deposed King Prempeh he obtained several little prizes, among which was this amulet. It was believed that it had been carried off by Prempeh in one of his numerous Northern raids up the Niger River. This conjecture may be in accordance with the facts; but since at that time the converts to Islam were increasing rapidly in regions adjacent to the Gold-Coast territories, and since Ashanti, though a tiny state, was attracting traders from these regions because of its mineral and vegetable resources, there were numerous routes and agencies by which the amulet might have found its way to the King. The fact that the King, though not a follower of Islam, kept it among his household goods suggests that he valued it for what it was represented to be and classed it with the rest of his fetishes. Because of his vigorous martial spirit which led him to engage in many forays against his neighbors, the amulet may have been, as we shall see, one of special interest to this last of the Ashanti-rulers.

The amulet was protected, as such objects customarily are, by a case of thin leather of a conical shape having as a pendant a tassel of tinsel material. The translation of the text is difficult both because of its bad hand-writing and also because of its awkward style of composition. It is

evident that it was produced by someone who had no proficiency in writing Arabic and was ignorant of Arabic literary standards. We may conjecture that the author, having no good models before him and being familiar only with colloquial Arabic, did the best that he could with his task, having regard chiefly for those elements in which the special potency of the amulet lay. The transliteration and the translation which I submit are as follows:

Bi-sm 'Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥîm wa-ṣallā 'Allāh 'alā sayyidinā fā' idah wa-man 'arāda 'an yajid al-maḥabbat al-nās wa-naṣr 'alā 'a'dā'ihi kullihim wa-yuj 'iẓaka 'Allāh fī-lail wa-al-nahār wa-yajid al-rizq fī-kull makān wa-man katabahu wa-'uliqa 'alaihi yakun manṣūr ḥaithumā tawajjaha bi-'idhn 'Allāh ta'allā wa-hwa (hya) hadhihi al-'āyah kamā tar'ā la khalq al-samāwāt wa-al-'arḍ 'akbar min khalq al-nās walākinna 'akthar al-nās la ya 'lamūn'ma'al-khawātim.

| | |
|---|---|
| yā 'lmskyā'īl<br>yā 'tshyâ'īl<br>yā ṭmḥshyā'īl<br>yā 'ṭṭyā'īl | yā ṭmhyā'īl<br>yā 'ṭs 'yā'īl<br>yā shṣyā'īl<br>yā ṣḥsmyā'īl |
| yā 'myā'īl<br>yā 'lmmyā'īl<br>yā 'ṭ yā'īl<br>yā 'hmyā'īl | yā ṭmhyā'īl<br>yā 'ṭs 'yā'īl<br>yā shṣyā'īl<br>yā ṣḥsmyā'īl |

(la ḥaul) wa-lā quwwah 'illā bi-'Allāh al-'alī al-'azīm.

"MUHAMMAD

In the name of God—the Merciful, the Compassionate, and may God bless our Master. Good fortune. If any one wishes that he may enjoy the friendship of people and victories over all his enemies and that God may deliver thee by night and by day and that he may find means of living in

every place, then if he write it and it is suspended on his person, he will be victorious wherever he turns his face by the permission of God, the Exalted. And it is this verse as thou shalt see—'Verily the creation of the Heavens and of the Earth is greater than the creation of Men but most men know it not' (Sura 40:59). Hereby the seals.

. . . . . .

"(There is no might) nor strength save in Allah, the most High, the Powerful."

Apart from the script and the translation of the text, this amulet has certain features that invite our interest. It belongs to that class of magical objects known in North Africa as *ḥurz,* and in Arabia and Syria as *ḥamā'il* (sing. *ḥamīlah*). The word is sometimes translated as "talisman" for which, however, the Arabs had an equivalent in *ṭilsam* (plur. *ṭalâsim, ṭilasmât*). Properly a talisman, it seems, is intended to perform only one specific task whereas an amulet is meant to work continuously and more generally on behalf of the person or thing bearing it, but in English there has arisen a confusion in the use of the terms so that they have become almost convertible. In Arabic, however, there is no such confusion since the *ḥamīlah,* as the word implies, is a charm that is *carried* and therefore properly the equivalent of our "amulet".

The simplest form of amulet [1] worn by the Arabs consists of a piece of paper on which is written a short prayer or spell or verse of the Koran, or some magical name or names. The inscription must be written by some derwish or holy man with black or red ink. European ink is better than native ink because the former "bites" into the paper and does not fade or rub off so quickly as the latter. Any verse of the Koran so written has magical power, but among the most efficacious are Sura 2:256, the "Throne-Verse", *Ayat al Kursî;* Sura 10:129, 130, *Ayat al 'Arsh,* another Throne-Verse; the two short Suras 113 and 114; and the Sura *Fâtihat al-Kitāb, i.e., "the Beginning of the Koran".* Such verses with their magical potency may be sup-

[1] For fuller information on this and related subjects consult the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* sub. (Ḥamā'il, Wafk); *Hughes, Dictionary of Islam,* sub. (Da'wah.)

plemented by the names of Mohammed and Ali, some of the ninety-nine names of God, the names of angels, spirits and demons; or by symbolic numbers or astrological symbols; or by figures of men and of animals; or by cabalistic letters drawn from Hebrew, Gnostic or Egyptian sources. Naturally these magical letters, signs, names and figures, because less intelligible than the verses of the Koran, are regarded as the more potent part of the amulet. Many men come to know portions of the Koran only through their combination with these magical symbols.

But these magical symbols are not set at random in the text of the amulet. Commonly they are arranged within squares, which are called the seals of the amulet. The square, as a 4-sided figure, has potency in itself—for the number 4 has special powers since, *e.g.,* there are 4 archangels, 4 chief devils, 4 elements, 4 seasons, 4 cardinal points.[2] Within each seal the letters, names, numbers or signs are arranged in three or four lines, and each line again in a purposive manner. Four seals with four lines each, therefore, contribute great potency to a verse of the Koran. Finally, the text and the seals together are enclosed within a single, all-embracing square.

In the amulet before us we may observe that the potency of the large square has been reenforced by writing the name of Mohammed into it. But the seals are especially noteworthy, for I have nowhere in the literature on the subject found anything that exactly resembles them.

Each line of each square seems at first sight to contain the name of an angelic being. It begins with the *ya* of invocation and closes with the two syllables *a'il* which stand at the end of such names. But on closer examination we observe that the presumptive words are really factitious names composed of three, four or five consonants and the syllable *a'il.* The consonants employed are ten in number and must have been invested with peculiar powers. It is to be noted also that they are written in four different directions, corresponding to the cardinal points, in order

[2] *Cf.* E. A. W. Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions,* pp. 44-46.

that they may be operative in warding off evil from every quarter. It is probable that the consonants represent 10 of the 14 mystic letters of the Koran. Each one of these 14 is assumed to possess special power and ten of them have been used here in such a way that the sum of the letters in each line is a number of power, *e.g.,* 8, 9, 10 or 11. The verse of the Koran to which the seals are appended, we may also add, is not one of those most commonly met with in amulets. Altogether the amulet presents features that are somewhat unusual and that illustrate the vagaries in the production of such magical instruments.

As the first part of the text indicates, it was devised to help a traveller, a trader or even a raider like King Prempeh himself—anyone, in fact, who needed protection against foes, hunger and thirst, and dangers by day or night. Such an instance of the modern use of charms recalls the widespread use of them in the Ancient East and particularly the different kinds of Hebrew amulets made known to us in the Old Testament, *e. g.,* the *saharôn,* worn by women or tied to camels (Judg. 8:26, Isa. 3:18), the *leḥashîm* (Isa. 3:20f), the *bells* or *paʿamônîm* attached to the skirts of the High priest (Ex. 28:33), the *ṭôṭāphôth* (Ex. 13:9, 16; Deut. 6:8; 11:18), the *mezûzā* (Deut. 6:9; 11:20), the *ṣîṣîth* (Num. 15:38; Deut. 22:12). In Zech. 14:20 it is evidently meant that in the Day of Jehovah the popular forms of magic will be replaced by nobler symbols: the *bells* of the horses will be inscribed with *"Sacred to Jehovah".* But such a hope is still far from realization in the modern East, as our amulet reminds us.

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# MY FRIEND THE "EFFENDI"

The word *effendi* is one of the remains of the scanty cultural heritage that Turkey bestowed upon Iraq during the four hundred years of its domination. Recently the connotation of the word has somewhat changed. Once it was used to address minor officials in the Turkish Administration, men of good Arab families, and professional men. Today it refers first of all to the young, partly westernized Iraqi, the possessor of a post-war education, an Occidental wardrobe, a sense of nationalism, and a vacillating cultural and spiritual life. This young man may be a Christian, a Moslem, or a Jew. He is almost invariably city bred. He divides all recent history into two periods, pre- and post-war. He may be the scion of a rich house, or desperately poor and of humble origin; as a social unit his group hardly fits into the traditional scheme. He is an *effendi* by reason of his secondary or higher education, his adoption of western dress and habits, and, above all, because he speaks and thinks the language of those whom the western ferment has made to question every accepted principle and formula of life.

As a single man and an instructor in a boys' school it has been my privilege to learn to know rather intimately a great many members of this *effendi* class. In this discussion I shall be thinking and writing about the Moslem *effendi,* though, with certain exceptions, what I say will be applicable to all groups.

In training and occupation all *effendis* show a great similarity. They are, without exception, men with "white collar" jobs. Clerks and junior officers in commercial firms, teachers, employees in government administrative offices;

young lawyers, pharmacists, physicians, and dentists; military officers, and employees in the public services: all of these are *effendis*. The vast majority of them have been educated entirely in Iraq; some have had part of their training in Syria; and a few have been prepared farther abroad, chiefly in Great Britain and America. The Government of Iraq maintains a Military College, a Teachers' College, a College of Pharmacy, a Law College, and a College of Medicine. Any young man who has completed three of the five years of work offered in the country's secondary schools is able to enter one of the first three. His period of professional training in any one of these is two years. The College of Medicine and the Law College accept only graduates of secondary schools, and the course of professional training is also somewhat longer. Most of these schools have one or more Europeans on their teaching staffs, and in each the content, aim, and method of the training is western. This is nowhere more true than in the Teachers' College. The texts in pedagogy, methods, and school organizations are chiefly translations of works used in Europe and America. The history and philosophy of education can have only a small place in a brief two year course; an attempt is made to present both the Arabic and the European. Once in a particularly bleak desert town, in a dingily furnished and ill-kept room, a young teacher held forth to me on the relative merits of Rousseau and Pestalozzi. A frightful sandstorm was raging outside, and the setting detracted from my interest in the subject. However, the Oriental's mental attitude is not as dependent upon externals as ours.

It becomes clear that the *effendi's* education is a disruptive rather than an integrating one; training in Arabic literature and thought is put aside for the science and method of the professional school. He is taught how to work, but not how to live. His mind is nourished, but his spirit goes hungry. It is little wonder that the young *effendi* is frequently a mass of conflicting loyalties, convictions, and purposes. He is often an advocate of atheism

one day and a staunch defender of Islam the next. Culturally, socially, and religiously he is totally at sea. He wants a change, but does not know what to change to. In all of this he is not entirely different from his American brother in college, but his difficulties are much more serious, for his training diverges much more widely from his background. Besides, there is virtually no one of his own people to whom he can turn for help; no one understands him. His religion does not solve his problem: "Everything comes from God and we must take whatever He sends." But he has been taught to use the mind God gave him and to analyze his needs and the needs of his fellows. He has no Saviour to bring peace and hope to his heart, to be his Way in the living of his life, on whom he can rely, and to whom he can give himself. Nor is this Saviour known among his people. Frequently the *effendi* becomes utterly pragmatic and self-seeking; he can find no definite ideals or objectives to strive for, so he alone remains.

It is difficult to say what the cultural and social outlook of the young Iraqi *effendi* is. Sometimes he objects to the rapid westernization at the expense of Arab culture. Yet he knows that he himself is the one great advocate of the change; he is proud of it and encourages it all he can. Few of his group feel that the traditional Moslem culture can be preserved in modern times. The degree of reform advocated varies. The conservative talks about reducing the number of prayer calls from five to three a day. The radical wishes the complete secularization of society. The *effendi* has a cultural inferiority complex as strongly evident as the self-satisfaction of his fathers. The older Arab scorns European civilization and culture as something inferior, something that must not be as good as what he has, because its roots are not fast in the Holy Koran. The Arab of the old school is condescending. For example, in speaking of the possibility of intermarriage of Arabs and Occidentals, the older Arab is likely to say, "Oh yes, we will take your girls", implying the bestowal of a favor. If the older Arab does not hear his culture praised by the

westerner, he feels sorry for him. The *effendi* presents an entirely different picture. If he glories in the great Arab tradition, and he occasionally does, it is with the intention of showing that he will be the worthy bearer of a modern civilization. "Once we taught Europe; now Europe teaches us. 'European civilization is really our common heritage." The *effendi* is extremely sensitive to the westerner's opinion of him. He takes great pains to emphasize the fact that he is quite out of sympathy with the "Arabs", whom he considers more or less as an obstacle in the way of progress. He is extremely hungry for a word of commendation and encouragement. All of this makes him very impressionable. "They who are well have no need of a physician", but the *effendi* makes no claim to perfect health. For the Christian worker this is an encouraging sign. But subversive agencies also find the field a fertile one.

Socially the *effendi* has a bleak existence. There are no public centers for recreation or study: no libraries, Y. M. C. A.'s, or parish halls. An evil-smelling cinema or a coffee shop are the only places to which he can go. Many of the young men live away from home. Frequently I visit the rooms of teachers, and often the sight of these rooms in which they live is most depressing. Here is a young teacher of Physics. He lives in two small rooms on the second floor of an old courtyard house. His study contains a rickety table and a chair. On the table, besides a good deal of dust, lie two Physics texts, an uncleaned razor, a mirror, and a towel. There is nothing else in the room. Windows are dusty and curtainless; there are no pictures. The sleeping-room contains a cot, a chair, and a tin trunk. The cot has no sheets and looks filthy. What always amazes me is that out of this unlovely scene there comes every morning a well-groomed young instructor, with clean clothes and a smile for everybody. No people could be more kindhearted than my friend, the *effendi*. He really wants badly to do the right thing, but he does not know what or how. Indeed, none can be more truly called

"sheep without a shepherd." Few things touch me more in my relations with the *effendi* than his great desire to have me for his friend. He is always anxious to talk of his personal affairs, his problems and achievements; he likes to be advised. Many times I have wished that there might be fifty or a hundred Christian young men from Europe or America living among the *effendi* as educators and social leaders, taking an active personal interest in his needs. That seems Utopian, yet why should it? If it is possible for scores of political and military officers to be sent, is it impossible to send a dozen or two to guide restless spirits and hungry hearts to peace and the Bread of Life?

Religiously the *effendi* is as uncertain of himself as in most other things. The young Moslem seldom denies his faith, but he practices it just as infrequently. His religious system is held together by social laws and customs, by respect, by traditional animosities, and by the force of the older religious leaders. He finds in it little or nothing that gives an impetus or dynamic to his life. Despite strenuous efforts he has not been able to fit his faith and religion into the modern scheme of life he is adopting. In one of his religious classes the principal of my school occasionally puts the question, "What in the Prophet or his teaching would serve a vital need in the life of a man on a London street?" The thoughtful *effendi's* reply to such a question would be strongly negative.

Unfortunately, by tradition, the *effendi* has been taught to think of religion as a body of teaching and practice almost entirely without bearing upon the ethics of his everyday life. Right and wrong weigh lightly upon him; his conscience has been little quickened. It is this that is the cause of his disastrous lack of faith in his fellows, his frequent moral instability, and his lack of perseverance. The Incarnation, "the Word made flesh", and its embodiment in the living tangible example in the life of our Lord is foreign to the *effendi's* experience. Yet there is nothing in Christianity that makes a greater appeal to him than

our Lord's life and Gospel. He is sometimes aware that their fullness is so fitting for his own needs. Though the Saviour beckons, offers to bear burdens, and give his grace and presence, the *effendi* does not accept him, because he has such a dim comprehension of the greatness of the bounty offered and because innate prejudices turn him away.

In addition to his own lack of understanding and prejudiced environment, the *effendi's* way to the Saviour is sometimes impeded by the un-Christ-likeness of much that he considers "Christian." He often talks of that. "You say Christians are brothers, but are not the greatest wars between Christians? You speak of Christian morality, but what do we see in the products of Hollywood sent to us? Why do Christians call us 'bloody Arabs'? The Christ was humble, but Christians often deny our friendship for the sake of their pride." Nor is the alert *effendi* unacquainted with the sinful divisions, the traditional animosities, and the useless bickerings that divide true Christians. Naturally his environment and literature tend to give him a highly accentuated picture of all these. Yet the truth they contain leaves a sting and we feel that Christ is crucified again by those who bear His name.

Iraq expects much of its *effendis;* they will play a great part in the future building of the nation. They are impressionable and receptive, an open door for teaching and guidance. Who and what is going to be presented to them? I am thankful that I may say a word on behalf of my friend the *effendi.*

*Busrah* COERT RYLAARSDAM.

# THE NEW AND THE OLD ISLAM

The Old Islam was promulgated by Mohammed, whose fundamental tenets were: There is no god but God, and Mohammed is His prophet and the Koran is the message. God is the absolute ruler of the whole universe, Mohammed is the last and the most authoritative of the apostles, the "Seal of the Prophets." And the Koran is the infallible and final revelation of God. This revelation is the absolute guide of humanity in their various branches of conduct. These tenets separate the Moslems from the rest of the religious groups of men. This is the Old Islam.

In our day there is in the Moslem world a tendency to turn toward the western ways of life, as we see in western head-gear and clothing, western music and dancing, western education and script, freedom of women and monogamy, western codes of civil laws, separation of church and state, etc. This movement is called the New Islam, and is being welcomed and praised on every side as the dawning of a new day upon the Moslem world. And it is really a wonderful and very significant movement. This new movement is seen in Turkey, India, Egypt, Java, and several other countries.

But in the minds of some, questions are raised: Are all these new changes compatible with the Old Islam? Can the Moslems take these steps and yet remain loyal to their religion? Are these reforms justifiable by the fundamental doctrines of Islam?

Let us take, for example, just one of these reforms, the separation of the church and state, which is the most important of the reforms accomplished by the Mustafa Kemal régime in Turkey, and ask, "Is it consistent with the doctrine of *Jihad,* which is one of the fundamental

doctrines of Islam?" *Jihad* is the foundation of its political life.

*Jihad* or religious war, or fighting for Allah and Islam and Mohammed is promulgated in the Koran in passages like the following:

"Those who believe, fight in the way of God." Sura 4:76.

"When the sacred months are passed away, kill the idolaters wherever ye may find them." Sura 9:5.

"Fight in God's way with those who fight you." Sura 2:186.

"O ye who believe, fight those who are near to you of the unbelievers." Sura 9:124.

"Strike off their necks then, and strike off from them every finger tip." Sura 8:72.

"And when ye meet those who misbelieve, then strike off heads until you have massacred them and bind fast the bonds." Sura 47:4.

*Jihad* is described in the "Encyclopedia of Islam" as follows:

"The spread of Islam by arms is a religious duty upon Moslems in general. It is a duty in general on all male, free, adult Moslems sane in mind and body and having means enough to reach the Moslem army . . . . It must be continued to be done until the whole world is under the rule of Islam . . . . The people against whom the *Jihad* is directed must first be invited to embrace Islam. On refusal they have another choice. They may submit to Moslem rule, become *zimmis* and pay *kharaj* (the capitation tax), or fight. In the first case, their lives, families and property are assured to them. But they have definitely inferior status, with no technical citizenship and a standing only as protected wards. If they fight, they and their families may be enslaved, and all their property seized as booty, four-fifths of which goes to the conquering army . . . . Islam must be completely made over before the doctrine of *Jihad* can be eliminated."—D. B. MACDONALD.

*Jihad* was first fought under the generalship of Mohammed against the Koreishite idolaters in Mecca and against the unbelievers in Arabia. And when the triumphant Moslem armies passed beyond the borders of Arabia and spread to the West and North, to Africa, Syria, Persia and the Byzantine Empire, they carried on their battles as *Jihad,* a sacred war for Allah and for Mohammed and his religion. Consequently in all their engagements they first offered Islam to their enemies and, when they refused it, appealed to the sword. In their fight they followed in the

footsteps of the Prophet with all the ferocity depicted in the Koran, with the added bitterness of the bloody battle field, subjecting the remnants to perpetual and abject bondage.

After such experiences the subject nations could not live with their masters in sincere amity. These bitter feelings have been handed down from generation to generation, and have been rekindled by new atrocities. Whenever the subject peoples dared to express their dissatisfaction against this cruel bondage, they were declared as rebels, and then *Jihad* was in order. With the war cry of *"Allahu akbar"* the atrocities began—massacring the Christians, looting their property, and enslaving their women.

On the other hand, the effect of *Jihad* upon the Moslems themselves has been quite detrimental. It encouraged in their hearts low and cruel feelings: hatred of their neighbors, bloodthirstiness, and sensuality. During the late Armenian massacres in my own native town some Moslem leaders were so bloodthirsty that they actually drank the blood of their victims and gave thanks to Allah for it! The so-called "Turkish atrocities" were in reality Islamic atrocities as the natural result of *Jihad*. In this way the morals of the Moslem people were degraded. They enjoyed usurping the Christian property and enslaving their women. And all this has led them to laziness and indolence. They despised knowledge and work and were satisfied with their ignorance. They obeyed their leaders blindly and were helpless in building up industry and bettering their condition. They were courageous on the battlefield, and kind to their Christian neighbors so long as the latter acknowledged their superiority; but as soon as they noticed that the Christians were bettering their condition and aspiring for higher things, they became jealous and cruel.

Just before the Great War I was discussing with Halidé Hanum Edib the question of the education of the Moslem girls. She said: "You Armenians are making progress in

that respect, but the Moslems are backward. And this is having an unfavorable influence upon the Moslems".

In modern times some of the Moslem apologists are trying to show that *Jihad* is not an essential tenet of Islam. The Young Turks refuse to declare *Jihad.* Mustafa Kemal separated Church and State in Turkey. In India they do not encourage *Jihad,* for they say, "in case there is no hope for the success of *Jihad* it is not lawful to declare it." By saying that, however, they still admit that it is an important doctrine of Islam. The Turkish ambassador Ahmed Muhtar Bey, in a recent radio address in Washington, was discussing the reforms introduced by Mustafa Kemal Pasha in Turkey. In that address he said that in order to make these reforms they had to throw overboard some religious superstitions and adopt the principle of nationalism. During the Balkan war the Young Turks also adopted the principle of nationalism instead of *Jihad.* But when they saw the Bulgarian armies at the gates of Istanbul they called the *hojas* in the city and urged them to go to the Turkish army and preach to them *Jihad.* Talaat Pasha, during the Armenian deportations in 1915, published a book in Turkish and in French to justify the behavior of the Young Turks and the atrocities of the Kurds against the Armenians. His main argument in that book was that the Armenians, relying upon the treaties of the European Powers with the Turkish government, had refused to submit to their Moslem neighbors as they should! (Compare "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh.")

After the declaration of the Constitution in Turkey in 1908, I was talking with a friend of mine, a Moslem *Hoja,* and said, "Now we are all *Osmanlis,* good neighbors, and fellow citizens". My friend assumed a thoughtful appearance, and said: "Effendi, let us use these fine words, but frankly speaking, let us not believe them. In truth, you are still *giaours* (unbelievers) and *rayas* (a pasture to graze upon), and we are the ruling nation." Later events showed that my friend was right.

Even today the one great obstacle before the followers

of these rival religions to understanding one another and to cultivating good will among them is this doctrine of *Jihad*. We Christians have no objection to the famous creed of Islam, "There is no god but God." That was the fundamental creed of the Christians and of the Jews long before the rise of Islam. They might even recognize Mohammed as a prophet. He was earnest in his conviction that he received this grand truth from God. And whenever he proclaimed it to his people he did it with deep sincerity, and his praises of God were always dignified and inspiring. He was ready to suffer persecution for his convictions. His advice to his people was generally edifying. And so, in spite of his many defects, he might possibly be called a prophet. In the history of revelation there have been seers who were called prophets, notwithstanding their great or small defects. And our conviction is that, were it not for this cruel doctrine, the Christians and the Moslems would get along peaceably under Moslem or Christian rulers.

Now, the principles on which *Jihad* is founded are: (1) that Islam is to be promulgated by the sword; and (2) that non-Moslems in a Moslem State have a definitely inferior status. There the true citizens are the Moslems, and non-Moslems have no right to full citizenship. On the other hand, Western civilization is founded upon the principle of equality of all the citizens without distinction of race or creed, of sex or rank, which is real Democracy.

How can these two contradictory policies be reconciled? *Jihad* produces an irreconcilable animosity between the Moslem and non-Moslem populations, wherever a Moslem State comes into existence under its influence.

The same question comes before us when we take the other new steps taken by the followers of the New Islam, such as the status of woman, or the intellectual position taken as to scientific progress, etc.

What, then, is the future of this new movement? What will be the relation of the New Islam to the Old one?

At present some leaders are being carried away by

the currents of the new environments and by the new ideas and ideals, and are neglecting the Old Islam. Some others are becoming skeptics and atheists, and are throwing overboard what they call "religious superstitions". Others are following this movement with the hope of finding in it an antidote against the European aggressions on the freedom of the Moslem States. And some others are in hope of finding a *fetwa* somewhere on the Moslem *sheriat* to reconcile this movement with the spirit of the Old Islam. (*Fetwa* is a legal opinion on the Moslem *Sheriat.*) But surely sooner or later the religious instinct of the Moslem peoples will awake to the real nature of the situation and will persistently demand a return to the original Islam.

What will be the answer of the leaders to this demand? Will they say, "Back to the original Islam of Mohammed", as the Wahhabis say? Or will they say, "Back to the *Sheriat",* as the Turks in reaction to the Young Turk régime said? Or will they say, "No religion, no *Jihad",* as some of the leaders are now saying?

None of these answers will save the situation for the New Islam. The true answer will have to be found in what was said in the passage we quoted above from the Encyclopedia of Islam: *"Islam must be completely made over before the doctrine of Jihad"* (or any of those anti-progressive doctrines) *"can be eliminated."*

But how can this be accomplished? Our answer is, *In Islam the idea of revelation must be changed radically.*

What was the idea of revelation in Mohammed's mind, and what is the idea today in the minds of all Moslems?

Mohammed believed himself called by God to be His great messenger, and God sent, through Gabriel, messages, the collection of which is the Koran. This book is the real word of God and contains all the commandments and admonitions of God for the salvation of men. It is therefore a book of laws for the faith and behavior of the believers for all times. This book then is the revelation of God, the recipient of which is Mohammed, the "Seal of Prophets." God had sent other books before him to other

prophets, such as the *Towrat* to Moses, the Psalms to David, and the *Injil* (the Gospel) to Jesus. But as the followers of the other Prophets were not faithful to their trust and corrupted their books, so now God has sent his Koran to Mohammed containing the essence of all the other books, and more, a complete and perfect revelation.

Now, this idea of revelation is wrong and it has to be changed. In the first place, the object of revelation is not a *book* but *God* Himself.

In religion man wants to see the God whose footsteps he sees all around him and desires to commune with Him. Man seeks revelation primarily for this purpose. The book-revelation therefore can not satisfy mankind. No book can give a complete revelation of God. Books are written by men, read by men, are copied and kept by men, interpreted and comprehended by men; they will be written in the languages of men and in the words invented by men. And all men are limited in their capacities and fallible in their judgments.

Moreover, the object of book-revelation is mainly to give men some *laws for their conducts.* But legalism is another encumbering element for religion. No system of laws can be perfect. All laws are limited by the needs and habits of the peoples to whom they are given. Unchangeable human laws will always raise obstacles before the progressing peoples. Man can not make real progress unless he becomes a law unto himself.

So we see that the present idea of revelation in Islam, which is the idea of the Old Islam, is a great obstacle before the New Islam. And the only way to solve this problem satisfactorily is for the Moslem brethren to change their idea of book-revelation and adopt the Christ-revelation which will lead them to the light and to real freedom.

But *what is the Christ-revelation?* Christ did not give us a book. *Injil* is only a record of what several disciples of Christ wrote about the life of Christ. Nor did he give any system of laws of conduct. What Christ did was to *reveal God Himself to men.*

Men naturally are asking, "Who is God?" He answered, "God is your loving heavenly Father." Men ask, "What are *we,* then, in the sight of God?" Christ said, "You are destined to be the children of God." Men again would ask, "Where is our heavenly Father?" Christ answered, "He is here with you, seeking you in order to make you real and worthy children of God." "But how is God going to make us so?" Christ said, "God out of His infinite love has condescended to you, in order to touch your spirits with his own Spirit and purify your spirits that He may live in you and you in Him. In that way you will become new men, born of God's Spirit. And so you can be perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect. And this is life eternal." How does God accomplish this? Christ said, "God seeks men with a self-sacrificing love and deals with them patiently, till they yield themselves lovingly to God's love as His real and worthy children, and worship Him in spirit and truth."

What is then Christ's relation to this revelation? In Christ we see God revealing Himself and his love to men, seeking men to save them from the life of sin to the divine eternal life. Likewise we see in Christ the true man as the son of God. And so in Christ the union of God with man is realized. And He says to us, "Follow me".

Now we can see here the following truths:

1. That the Christ-revelation is very different from the book-revelation.

2. That it is a *life-giving* revelation. It leads us to know God and live a divine life. It is a direct and real relation with God Himself and not simply learning something about God.

3. That it is a *living revelation.* Revelation is a daily affair of living. God with His Spirit dwells in man and continually reveals to the individual his truths according to his need and experiences. Christ said to his disciples that he would send them, not an *Ahmed* as Mohammed supposed, but the Spirit of God who would dwell in them and inspire them daily.

4. That the Christ-revelation makes every man a *law unto himself* with the dynamic force of love. God saves men with his love, man accepts and worships God with love, and man deals with his fellowmen with love.

5. That the Christ-revelation makes man really free —free in thought, free in making progress. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." No *Jihad,* no force! Man becomes the child of God. Other men, good or bad, are his brothers. The universe around him is his Father's universe, he can study and enjoy it as much as he wishes. He enjoys life in all its departments as a child of God. What a freedom is this! What a joyful freedom is this!

And now, is it not evident that the Christ-revelation is the only salvation of those Moslem brethren who are aspiring to make progress and to be free and to be happy in life. And by doing so they may still be Moslems, not in the Koran style indeed, but in the Christ style.

We therefore claim that for the whole Moslem world, not simply for the progressive class, but for the whole Moslem world, in order to be saved from the slavery of legalism and bondage of the book-revelation of the Koran and to make free progress in new civilization, it is indispensable to give up the book-revelation and legalism and *Jihad* and other similar enslaving doctrines of the Old Islam and adhere (that is *teslim, Islam*) to the Christ revelation, and be free forever.

I was once talking with a University student in Istanbul on religious questions. I asked him to give me his idea of what his religion Islam promises to give to him. He explained to me the message of Islam. Then I gave him *my* idea of the message of *my* religion, Christianity. After hearing me through, he said, "Effendi, is what you have described practicable? Is it possible to realize it in life? If it is, I will be a Christian today. But I do not see that the Christians do realize it in their lives."

On another occasion I explained Christ's idea of the forgiveness of sins to a Persian Moslem friend. He

listened to me and then said, "Effendi, you have such a truth. Then why don't you tell us about it?" I said, "My friend, we would gladly do so, but you do not let us tell you about it." It was Hamidian time.

I would apply this to the Moslems in Turkey. Now that the Mustafa Kemal régime has been introducing some important and radical reforms into the country, is it not time to take up the religious aspect of reform too? At present the leaders are neglecting religion. But soon the people will demand their religion back. What will they do then? Will they give back the Old Islam to them? That will be the repetition of the old story of the Young Turk Party régime. But let the present government allow the religious life to come back in the spirit of Christ-revelation, along with the western ways of life and thoughts, then the present reforms will be a substantial gain. And in order to realize this, the present régime should simply allow freedom to the Christ-revelation messengers to teach it to the people. They will see the truth and the truth will make them free. And this work can be done without proselyting among the Moslems, because the people can secure the same result by simply dealing with the Koran as we Christians deal with the Moses revelation, taking the divine element in it and substituting the Christ-revelation for the human element in it.

Now our conclusion will be: It is our duty as Christians, to give our message of the Christ-revelation to our Moslem brethren by word as well as by life; and the Moslems' duty is to give honest thought to it, believe in it, and loyally follow Christ.

*Washington, D. C.* H. K. Krikorian.

# PERPLEXING SINKIANG

## PROBLEMS WHICH NOW FACE CHINESE TURKESTAN

Everybody is talking problems! The world is full of them, and Central Asia is not among the least of these. It will be the deliberate purpose of this study to add a few more to the reader's quota which, were not the urgency called in question, one would be very loth to do. The world is full of problems; but some parts of the world more than others certainly are replete with them. This is true of Sinkiang at the present moment. From the eastern gateway of that area, old China's back door,[1] one's observations may give to the reader some material heretofore unstressed. From the Christian point of view our interest in the evangelization of any country must, humanly speaking, attempt to understand something of the necessary strategy involved. With this in mind I make no apology for presenting some of the questions which lie deep under the welter of conflict upon which both Asia and Europe now turn their eyes with anxious glance.

It is unnecessary to describe here the location, area, geographical features, and other basic information. Far distant as Turkestan lies from the United States, there are few who do not know something about it. The average American probably knows more about Turkestan than the average Turki knows of the United States. For that matter the Turki is quite capable of asking very ignorant or else very facetious questions with regard to China. Quite recently one of them asked where the capital of China now is, and still another, who is now Emperor. It is at once apparent that in dealing with the problems of

[1] i. e., Suchow (Kiuchuan), Kansu.

Sinkiang we are dealing with a very isolated part of the world.

Backward though it may be, and isolated though it is, new leaves are now being written in Asia's age-long story. Within recent months it has become almost a truism to say that Asia has added more leaves to her book of history than Europe. The eyes of the world are fixed as never before upon Asia, and that part of Asia which is like a Belgium or a Palestine is Sinkiang. Russia, China, and India sit on her borders. Mongolians and Turanians struggle within. The world looks on expectantly.

Some may say that Sinkiang, a kind of isolated desert in the center of a continent, is scarcely worth all the fuss. This may be so economically and culturally, but few will agree that it is such politically. Certainly the Christian Church cannot stop short at the dreary stretches! Generally speaking, the claim that the race for virgin territory of the world has ceased and the struggle over the spoils begins, is a true observation. Yet, with the case of Sinkiang, modern nations still regard her as virgin soil.

Sinkiang fell to China as spoils of conflict. During nearly two thousand years of history China had been landlord over a period of five hundred years, though not in a single stretch. The Chinese Empire at great pains maintained its hold on Sinkiang in order to maintain its commerce with the west. Although the last dynasty, the Manchu, tasted bitterly the aggression and expansion of modern powers, it has been left to republican China to deal with the tremendous momentum of the modern Russia on her farflung frontier. It will be important to watch China. She forms a minority in Sinkiang. How will she act toward her subject peoples, especially in view of the avowed declarations of Dr. Sun Yat-sen?[2] Ethically speaking, will she meet the highest requirements in the matter of trusteeship? Will she prove the morality of her position in Sinkiang in a manner so well-expressed by Professor Hocking, viz., that "the only ethical justification for foreign domina-

[2] Cf. Sun Yat-sen: "Three Principles of the People" (trans. of Mr. Price).

tion is a contribution toward the realization by the subject peoples of its own peculiar genius in government and culture"? [3]

A former governor, the able Yang Cheng-hsin, had the political sagacity to allow a wide measure of local autonomy among the various tribes, at the same time ruling his province with strong centralized impetus. The two governors who followed have aimed at centralization of *all authority,* but have been insufficiently equipped with political acumen or military power to effect such a radical change. The net result of such a change in policy was insurrection and general chaos throughout the land. "Political difficulties," says Sir Frederick Whyte, "often arise from failure to appreciate differences of culture and mentality which lie deep in the ages of history." [4] The Sinkiang government certainly failed at this point. As a matter of fact, this lack on the part of the Chinese is inexcusable. In the history of Chinese frontier politics there have been rulers astute enough to study seriously the problem of cultural conflicts in relation to political control, and with sagacity sufficient to enable them to meet the exigencies of such control. The Chinese are past-masters of common-sense, industry, intelligence, and love of compromise, particularly the latter. How and why such valuable qualities have not controlled the political creed of the Sinkiang government since the death of Yang Cheng-hsin it is hard to understand. I suspect the *credo* has been a hopeless mixture of simony, nepotism, and unassimilated republicanism. Of course such a government was playing with fire.

Sinkiang is not the spoil of China economically. Turkestan has never been profitable economically, certainly not since the rise of modern merchant marines. She belongs to Russia economically. This is dangerously near to saying politically. At the present moment the Russian militia stands by the present Tihwa government, and only this past summer U.S.S.R. troops were invited in to assist the Chinese régime against a coup d'état of "white" Russians

[3] Hocking, W. E.: "The Spirit of World Politics", New York, 1932.
[4] Whyte, Sir Frederick, K.C.S.I.: "The Future of East and West", London.

and Tungani in Dzungaria. The present power in that region presumably rests with General Shen Chih-tsai, the Japanese-trained military commander.

## The Problems of Communication

Some critics [5] are amazed that China seems apparently so little disturbed by Russia's peaceful penetration of Sinkiang. Russia first penetrated Outer Mongolia. She now penetrates Sinkiang. She may soon enter Kansu. Although in the past Sinkiang has never been profitable commercially to China, she could very well be made profitable to Russia, with modern means of exploitation. She may be made to blossom, though scarcely as the rose. Her world market will depend on outside agencies. Those which can best tap her resources or supply her necessities will control her life. Mr. Peng Chao-hsien, until recently civil magistrate at the Tihwa government, reports concerning Dzungaria, the area north of the Tien Shan range, that she is now entirely dependent upon Russia for oil and fuel. [6] Mr. Peng states further that the district north of the range, that in which Tihwa (Urumchi), the capital, is located, would be absolutely cut off from revenue were she separated from the district of Kashgaria (southwestern Sinkiang).

Russia's railway contact with Sinkiang is now intimate. The completion recently of the Turk-Sib line from Semipalatinsk to the Orenburg-Tashkent line at Arys passes not far distant from the western border. Already, projected lines to Chuguchak, Ili (Kuldja), and Kashgar will act as feeders. The Kashgar feeder has already been constructed as far as Narinskoye.[7] It has been said that the Turk-Sib line "avoided the more fertile, and therefore economically more important, regions (in Russia) in order to facilitate the construction of branches into Dzungaria, the northern part of Chinese Turkestan." [8] These lines, ostensibly for economic advantages, are the forerunner of political

[5] Sokolsky, Geo. E.: "The Tinder Box of Asia", London.
[6] *Northwest Daily*, Lanchow, Summer, 1934 (Chinese).
[7] *Journal Royal Central Asian Society*: vol. xx, part 3. p. 366.
[8] Ibid., p. 371.

prestige. Dzungaria is now *de facto* Russian. China is powerless to say no.

China's communications with Sinkiang are slow and inadequate. The air connection under contract of the Eurasia Corporation with the Chinese government, which had provided for service from Shanghai to Chagachuk on the Russian frontier, now goes only as far as Lanchow. Officials here from Hami express no hope for speedy recommencement of the service beyond Lanchow. The long-hoped-for extension of the Lung-Hai railway from Shensi to Lanchow is still a matter of several years. The much-advertised motor connection between Suiyuan and Sinkiang provinces by the inner Mongolia desert route has so far proved a fiasco, with but one or two trips attempted. The difficulty of negotiating the desert road, plus unrest in Sinkiang, contributed to this failure. The postal service between Lanchow and Tihwa and the telegraph service between Hami and Tihwa are at present cut off. The Nanking government, curiously enough, receives news of her far western domains by way of London or Moscow.

Before Russian dominance in Outer Mongolia it was customary for caravan traffic from China to Sinkiang to travel via the Shan Teh Temple route. Russian and Chinese merchants in north China (Kalgan) were in contact with Barkul in Sinkiang, a distance of seventy to ninety days by camel. The present alternative caravan route is the Peh Ling Temple route which passes through the extenuated arm of western inner Mongolia via Edzin Gol. The route was that followed by the bus service already referred to, which proved unsuccessful. Several foreign expeditions have negotiated this road, but at tremendous cost to machinery, wear and tear, and gas consumption. Sixty miles a day for average stretches is nothing to boast of. Gas consumption in the sandy parts runs as high as a gallon a mile. Commercial enterprise must consider such heavy costs, especially in view of the type of goods which Sinkiang exports, viz., bulky cotton, wool, and stock-products. The Peh Ling Temple route, at the Suiyuan end,

suffers from chronic banditry, engendered in part by the discontent of the Mongol nomads with the colonization schemes of the Chinese, north of the great bend of the Yellow river. The Mongols and Chinese malcontents make a business of preying upon caravan traffic. The third alternative is the Kansu Great road or pan-handle route. This road is feasible nine or ten months of the year, and with some improved road construction to meet the needs of motor traffic, especially with more careful bridge erection, this route is available. Goods from Sinkiang would be delivered to Lanchow, thence reshipped by river or by cart to down-country China. But the long hauls for bulky products put China at a serious disadvantage. Russia's railways offer a far more acceptable method, and trade in Sinkiang recognizes this. Russia now has the lion's share of both export and import business, as will be seen from figures given below. [9] Of Russia's total foreign trade, that with the Far East has jumped since 1913 from six per cent to fourteen per cent of the total. [10] This is significant.

Russian cloth has already entered the Suchow market. I have purchased good cotton khaki for less than ten cents per yard. Since the upheaval in Sinkiang it comes from the U.S.S.R. across Outer Mongolia. It is a wonder to me how cloth can be delivered so cheaply here in Kansu. The same thing may be said of Japanese goods. It is a far cry from Osaka to Suchow, but somehow it is done. Were Sinkiang quiet it would not be unthinkable to find Tashkent piece-goods or even Bokhara "china" competing at China's own back door.

## The Problem of Immigration

Chinese authorities disagree on China's population. Some assert that the nation never recovered from the Taiping rebellions. Others claim that the population increases annually as much as ten millions. If this is true, of

[9] *China Economic Journal*, July, 1932.
Figures for 1931:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sinkiang exports | to China—Rupees | 737,250. | Imports— 1,939,850 |
| | to Russia | 13,528,000. | 10,647,000 |
| | to Afghanistan | 547,540. | 830,000 |
| | to India | 2,814,565. | 1,186,848 |

[10] J. R. C. A. S. vol. xx, part 4, p. 651.

course there must be found some method of birth-control, emigration to the dependencies, or scientific redistribution, in order to meet the issue. Occupation of Manchuria by Japan has turned the hope of China toward the northwest as a possible place for expansion. I am of the opinion that these hopes are largely unwarranted.

Col. Schomberg estimates that the present population of Sinkiang could be doubled without increasing the area under cultivation.[11] According to Mr. Peng's estimates already quoted above,[12] the arable, or at least the cultivated, land of Sinkiang now supports a population of about seventy-five per square mile. He gives the total population in round numbers as two million. To place one hundred and fifty rather than seventy-five on the square mile would allow an emigration of another two million. If, with capital investment and large-scale government reclamation, it were possible to bring more land under cultivation, of course the figures would be proportionately increased. It is proposed, for instance, that another seven thousand square miles in Dzungaria, three thousand in the Ili basin, and ten thousand in the Kashgar-Aksu country could be made to serve the purposes of colonization. These twenty thousand square miles would enable another three million to sustain themselves, or a possible total of five million. This is scarcely six months' growth of China's population, if we take the highest estimate. Based on the density of population in down-country China for arable land, say of about five hundred per square mile, we should of course have quite a utopian picture of the possibilities of Sinkiang as an area for future colonization schemes. But five hundred is an outrageous figure, quite unthinkable even for China.

The whole issue is at present befogged by the problem of capital investment, either public or private, in China. In this connection let me here quote from C. F. Remer's recent book[13] a statement which presents the problem with sane and realistic certainty: "Contrary to the general belief, she (China) is far from rich in natural resources, and the

[11] Ibid., vol. xx, part 3, p. 364.
[12] *Northwest Daily*, Lanchow, Summer, 1934 (Chinese).
[13] Remer, C. F.: "Foreign Investments in China". New York, 1933.

traditional structure of her social and economic life has resulted in a chronic over-population, a very low standard of living, and an almost complete absence of either the will or the means to accumulate capital on any considerable scale. The Chinese individually are the most thrifty people in the world, but the deep-rooted family system has directed their savings only into the land, to which they have been applied to a degree which defies the law of diminishing returns, and to small-scale household industry and trade. Their disinclination to trust their money to anybody outside the family circle has likewise put an effective check on investment in the modern sense of the term, and so on the development of the financial machinery, without which savings cannot be applied to large-scale capital investment; while a strongly inherent resistance to foreign intrusion, as well as the failure of Government to maintain conditions of reasonable security, has hindered the importation of foreign capital with which to develop the resources of the country. Without this development, and an attendant rise in the standard of living, China can never become a great market."

## The Problem of Pan-Turanianism

In round numbers the population of Sinkiang is given as two millions. Of this number but one hundred thousand, or five per cent, are Hans (Chinese); the large overwhelming group is that of the Turki. They number about a million and three-quarters, perhaps slightly less than this figure if anything. There is a scattered population of Tibetans, Kalmuck Mongols, Kazaks, and others. Of the latter two groups the Kazak may be considered Turki culturally by reason of language, temperament, and religion. Mr. Peng admits that over fifty per cent of the Hans are addicts of opium: not a very good showing for the "ruling" race. It is quite evident that Sinkiang culturally belongs to the Turkish race.

The cultural cohesion between the Kumuliks in the far east and the Kashgarliks in the far west is strong. Religion, customs, and general sentiment uniformly prevail. On other

authority than my own I am prepared to say that the dialectical differences in language are only slight. From the standpoint of general literacy it may be said that illiteracy decreases in direct proportion as one travels westward in Sinkiang. I have met very few Turki resident *here* who can read or write their own language. Friends from Kashgar confirm this view. During the centuries of Chinese domination in Sinkiang it is surprising what little progress the Chinese language has made among the Turki. Chinese is spoken by the Turki along the trade-routes. Some Chinese agricultural and governmental terms have entered into everyday Turki speech.[14] Yet it is profoundly true that few Turki ever seek their education, if they seek one at all, from Chinese sources, especially the higher schools. There are only a handful in Peiping now. Most of the youth go to Russian Turkestan. Mr. Peng estimates that there are now ten thousand young men from Sinkiang studying in the U.S.S.R., Turkey, or Egypt: principally the former. Our own personal Turki teacher in Shanghai was trained to teach in the Harbin school system and proficient in both Russian and Turki.

The progress of the awakening in Russian Turkestan has been rapid. Since 1925 it is stated that the number of men and women who could read rose from eight to sixteen and two to four per cent respectively in 1932.[15] Under the Tzarist régime but one newspaper sufficed for Turkestan; now, there are newspapers in all of the Turki dialects of the republics which constitute Russian Turkestan, viz., Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakstan, Kirghiztan, Karakalpakstan and Tajikstan. The last named is a small non-Turki republic of about a half million people. To the northeast of Dzungaria, the new Turki republic of Tana Tuva is also making progress. It seems that only a Turki republic in Sinkiang is needed to make up the chain of pan-turanianism from the Caspian to Mongolia. Such a chain of republics if closely consolidated would more or less simulate the vast Turkish empire which controlled

[14] Cf. Raquette, G.: "English-Turki Dictionary." Lund, 1927.
[15] J. R. C. A. S. vol. xx, part 2, p. 233.

that area in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries of our era.

This possibility of a pan-turanianism has been more or less envisioned by the modern Turkey of Mustafa Kemal. Sir Telford Waugh in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* for October last reviews an interesting modern compilation of Universal History written from the present-day Turkish point of view. The author of that work attempts to prove the possibility of linking up the various scattered fifty-one millions of Turks on the basis of a uniform purified codified language. He would eliminate the various Persian poetical phraseologies and the Arabic religious and scientific terminologies, employing pure Turkish words instead. His reviewer mentions the claim thus: "a traveller knowing only the Turkish of Stamboul could pass from the Bulgarian frontier to the East border of Chinese Turkestan without difficulty in making himself understood." Apparently the author tested out the truth of this. Nevertheless language alone is certainly an insufficient basis for unity in a nicely-balanced economic society; but add to language custom and sentiment, to say nothing of religious fanaticism, and the issue assumes more reasonable proportions.

Russia has definitely divided her Turki subjects into small units for better administrative control and furthermore she thereby seeks to maintain dialectical differences as well among this people. This is significant! The U.S.S.R. has made some strategical blunders in her collectivization policy which she hopes to rectify. She certainly doesn't wish for further trouble in Andijan (Russian Turkestan). With a strongly-constituted modern Turkey at Stamboul, pan-turanianism is within the apprehension and purview of the present U.S.S.R. government.

## The Problem of Pan-Islamism

During peaceful years in Kansu and Sinkiang the presence of an Ottoman Turkey business man occasions our

curious interest. During recent activities of the Tungani army operating in eastern Sinkiang a high Turkish officer was attached to the staff. Is this mere coincidence or not? That is the question. Personally, I do not consider that the question of pan-islamism can be solved apart from the issue of pan-turanianism. Pan-islamism would only be successful in a political sphere were pan-turanianism a fact in Central Asia. We can recall the strong language of Mustafa Kemal with regard to pan-islamism in his reference to the Khilafat. "It is an antiquated and useless institution, this Khilafat. What nonsense it is to call upon Turkey to support it! The business of the National Assembly is to look after the interests of the Turkish Nation, and it has nothing to do with the Moslem world outside." [16]

We may well ask ourselves whether or not there has ever been a single instance of complete Moslem unity in China. Not one! Read the history of the successive rebellions and what do you find? You learn that rivalry of Mohammedan leaders, jealousy of various sects, greed for Chinese bribes, hatred between the various Moslem racial units, have been the factors which have broken down and will continue to break down every rebellion. The very present case of Sinkiang illustrates this only too well. The Turki peasant and the Tungani trader, both Mohammedans, have never been amiable bed-fellows. One is reminded of a good illustration of this, which I observed myself. Two travellers entered an inn for the night in one of the remote spots of Suiyuan province. They were perfect friends; they ate and slept together! The next morning they were inveterate enemies. Reason? The one arose earlier, exchanged his worn shoes for those of his "friend" and decamped. The Turki and Tungan could not work together to maintain any Sinkiang republic over-night, and neither of them could stand alone apart from strong outside financial and military backing. Without the rise of a Tamerlane who shall appeal to the baser human instincts, there will be no pan-islamism in Central Asia. The peasant

[16] J. R. C. A. S. vol. xx, part 4.

Turki heretofore has much preferred the mild rule of the Chinese. The Tungan knows that he can expect more position and power as soldier and administrator in the Northwest under the Chinese rule than under Turki, Russian, or any other. And with Chinese overlordship pan-Islamism politically is but a dream.

From the Chinese side of the border it is difficult to appraise properly the extent of U.S.S.R. or British influences which may or may not lie behind the present movement in Kashgaria. The matter of the secret trade treaty between Russia and Sinkiang made October 1, 1931, at Tihwa, and the recent impeachment of former Governor Chin is already a matter of common knowledge through the public press. The Central Government of China has repudiated all irregular attempts toward control of her far-flung province, although she is powerless to prevent them. I think that the solution to the present chaos will lie with the racial complexities of Sinkiang. A mild, yet firm and disinterested, Chinese rule will probably be the last and best appeal which the people of that province could make. If Russian gold has stirred China's nest, it will take much more Russian gold to rebuild Sinkiang in anything like her former state. One is not now prepared to say much with regard to Japanese interests in Chinese Turkestan. It is a well-known fact that some of our best maps of the area are those made by Japanese engineers. It has also lately been observed that Japanese capital has interested itself in the development of railways in Afghanistan. It is also true that the Chinese Kansu and Sinkiang governments have turned back a number of Japanese travellers in these parts. All this may be of significance, especially in view of the "strained" relations which exist between Russian and Japanese interests both economic and political in eastern Asia.

Since the days of Nestorian prestige during the Mongol dynasty, Christianity has never been an important issue with Chinese Turkestan. The remoteness of the area has kept out the forces of organized Christianity; whereas the

little iron-clad heaven of Islam has enabled the Turki to sit under his own little spiritual "vine and fig tree," and let the heaving world of thought outside go by. Orthodox Russia and Protestant Britain never worried their heads about religious interests so long as the religious *status quo* might be maintained. Orthodox Russia did attempt the islamization of one of her tribes, to be sure. The organized church of Christendom has recently attempted to do something for Sinkiang. Among the Catholics, the Capuchins and Sacred Heart missions have work. This summer three Germans and two Hollanders of the latter mission, with several Chinese trained priests, went up to Tihwa. The China Inland Mission in 1932 increased her personnel by six young men. The Swedish Mission has sixteen missionaries now working in the Kashgar area, although severely handicapped by reason of the rebellions throughout Kashgaria, especially violent in the Khotan section during the past eighteen months. The result of the work of these several missions has been insignificant, so far as numbers are concerned, though *strategically* important.

Sinkiang, which has rejected Frankish culture for so long, is at last about to give way before the impact of modern Franco-Slavic Russia on her borders. It may be true that the emphasis on social and economic issues is misdirected or overstressed, but it is important to observe that the U.S.S.R. does encourage literacy, and this is a step forward. Without a reading public the world's best evangelistic agency, the Bible, will be of small avail.

Sinkiang has also rejected Mongolian culture (Mongolian in the largest sense of the word). The cultural warfare of Han and Turki is at check-mate. The Mongolian mind forever rejects Islamitic culture. The Turki will soon be obliged to choose whether he will have the Mongolian or the Frankish: and the modern Mongolian has "gone" Frankish! I heartily concur with Mr. A. C. Hanna [17] in his view that Islam makes no appeal to the Mongolian mind. One could wish that the writer of that excellent article had

[17] THE MOSLEM WORLD, vol. xxiv, 1.

attempted to develop the thesis with regard to Christianity and the Mongolian mind rather than to leave his reader with a few categorical statements. My own thesis would be stated something like this, that, irrespective of the superiority or inferiority of Frankish culture in the face of the Islamitic and Mongolian cultures in Sinkiang (or China), Christianity in China will never be successful until Frankish culture has been adopted by the mass of the people: nor is this adoption outside the realm of probabilities. This will entail a new idea of the value of the individual as a part of Oriental society; a new outlook on the question of moral selectivities; a new and strong sublimation of economic acquisitiveness; plus all of the healthy modernization of society, its industry, welfare, and living standards.

With all the problems that Sinkiang faces, the outlook is *not hopeless*. There is every prospect that the present chaos will issue in a re-orientation of life which will most aptly lend itself to the high ethical teaching of Christian missions. The present is transitional! The turn of the road is surely not far distant. Awake, Church of Christ!

*Kiuchuan (Suchow), Kansu.* H. D. HAYWARD.

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## SUMMER SEMINAR IN ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

A summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic studies, under the direction of Professors Philip K. Hitti and Walter L. Wright, will be held at Princeton University June 20 to July 31, 1935. Courses will be given in Islamic culture and art, and the Arabic and Turkish languages, together with special lectures by a group of Semitic scholars.

The Seminar will be housed in the Graduate College, where provisions are made for men and women students as well as for married persons. Most of the classes will be conducted in the building. The gymnasium and tennis courts will be open for the use of summer students. Swimming and golfing are available.

Applications for enrolment, including a statement of the applicant's academic record or professional status, should be sent not later than May 1 to the Secretary of the Seminar, Professor Walter L. Wright, Jr., 20 Maple Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

## CURRENT TOPICS

### An Islamic View of Christianity

The following article is from *The Light* (Lahore):

"A question and answer appear in the *Epiphany* (Sept. 15), a Christian Weekly of Calcutta:

"Why is the mission work in the Muslim fields more difficult than in any other fields? What is there behind the Muslims that holds them very fast to their religion? Do you believe that we can win their hearts in the long run? Are there many converts from the Muslims in any parts of the world?

"*Answer*—It is the elements of truth which are contained in the religion of Islam which hold its adherents fast to their religion, and the strong sense of brotherhood among them. It must be remembered that Christianity makes far more exacting moral claims upon human nature than does Islam and many have not the courage to face these exacting requirements. We believe that in the long run Christ, when He is 'lifted up' will 'draw all men unto Him.' There are converts to Christianity from Islam in many parts of the world today, notably in Java, where there are over sixty thousand Christians of Islamic origin.

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"The first part of the answer indicates an obvious change of attitude on the part of Christians towards Islam and we need hardly add that the change must do good to the hearts of all lovers of Truth. To look upon Truth as the monopoly of any one people to the exclusion of the rest of mankind is absurd on the very face of it. The Quran denounced this mental frame at its very inception, as displayed by the Jews and the Christians of the day—'The Jews say the Christians have nothing of truth and the Christians say the Jews have nothing of truth, whereas both read the Book. *Even so say those people who do not know.*' The same has unfortunately been the common attitude of Christendom towards Islam which it has ever described as an utterly false religion. It is thus no small change for an avowedly propagandist Christian organ to publicly recognize that there are elements of truth in Islam, and we welcome this wholesome change.

"When, however, one comes to the second part of the answer one misses that ring of sincerity which characterises the first part. Here one finds an obvious and laboured attempt on the part of the paper not to forget its propagandist role and to say something because it *must*. Far be it from us to belittle the beautiful teaching that is undoubtedly there in the sweet sermons of the Teacher of Galilee and farther still to institute any comparison between Jesus

and Muhammad, both of whom, the Quran teaches, must have a place side by side in the heart of a Muslim.

"But the statement that 'Christianity makes far more exacting moral claims upon human nature than does Islam' is so palpable a travesty of facts that we can not pass it without a word of comment. Does the writer seriously suggest that the doctrines of Christianity tend to strengthen the sense of moral responsibility in man more than do those of Islam? Surely he can not be unaware that Christianity as understood by the Church takes its very stand on a belief which means a death blow to all sense of moral responsibility. It bases the salvation of man on *faith in a fact of history viz.,* the crucifixion of Jesus. It avowedly abrogates the conception that salvation depends on the fulfilment of the law, *i.e.,* on a particular mode of life, as was taught by the previous scriptures and for that very reason it is called the Gospel of Grace. Islam, on the contrary, lays all the emphasis, in common with Judaism and other great religions of the world, on what sort of *life a man leads.* 'Whoever does a grain of good shall see the reward of it; whoever does a grain of evil shall suffer the consequence of it'—this is the burden of the Quranic teachings. We leave it to the learned writer to judge for himself which is more conducive to the cultivation of a sense of responsibility in man—a belief which pins salvation to faith in an event or a belief that man is the architect of his own destiny? Again, we are told by the Church that Jesus bore the cross for the whole of sinful humanity and his blood has washed off human sins. Islam, on the contrary, teaches that we must all bear our own cross, even as Jesus did his own and that no one can bear the cross of another. These being the respective attitudes on life, of Christianity and Islam, is it not ridiculous on the face of it to claim that Christianity makes a greater moral demand on the nature of man than does Islam? The fact is just the other way about. Islam makes practical life the very fulcrum of human salvation; Christianity is a subterfuge to evade that universal yet irksome law of life.

"As regards Jesus drawing men toward him, well, no one could more readily welcome that happy day than a Muslim. For to him Jesus and Muhammad are one and the same, both having come from the same source, with the same light."

### The Persian Press on the Need of Family Education

In a recent number of *Ettelaat,* Teheran, the Editor says: "I saw an angry mother holding in a pair of tongs a lump of burning charcoal, chasing a small boy in the alley outside her house. She was shrieking and calling the little boy, 'You rascal, if I catch you this time I will make a mark on your flesh with this fire.' I saw it was a lad only five or six years old. He was crying and saying that he was innocent. The mother, who could not think of any more names to call her boy, got tired of running. A neighbor stopped her and asked for the cause of this. 'Well,' she said, 'he gets up very early in the morning and goes and eats the food left from the night before.'

"This is a specimen of family education in our country. We must not look only at a few modern families, but the mass who educate their children in this way. The result of it is that children

are brought up to be liars, dishonest, cowardly, and profane. They can not be changed even at schools. So we see that the homes must do something toward improving this social defect."

### Traffic in Kashmir Women

*The Near East* says: "The Kashmir Assembly has completed its session. If it has done nothing else of general interest, it has passed a resolution in favour of strengthening the law against the traffic in women, which is terribly rife in that State, the beauty of whose women is a byword in India. The evil is one that is very difficult indeed to cope with; for the common practice, though notorious, is not easy to defeat. A Muhammadan is allowed four wives: and divorce, under Muhammadan canon law, is achieved by a mere gesture on the part of the husband. The common procedure has been, for a man legally to marry four young women in Kashmir, proceed with them to India and there formally to divorce them, afterwards selling them for what they will fetch: and then to return (alone) to Kashmir, there to repeat the process. The new law will aim at punishing not only the, in fact fictitious, husband, but also the priest who performs the marriage; but the difficulty will be to prove guilty intent: all the more so because Kashmir is a Muhammadan State ruled by Hindus, so that the stock Indian cry of 'interference with religion' may quite likely be raised."

### Turkish Women in the Chamber of Deputies

The Grand National Assembly unanimously decided that any Turkish woman more than thirty years old henceforward was eligible for election to the Chamber of Deputies. It ruled also that all women over twenty-two years of age could vote in the national elections. Thousands of women telegraphed recently to President Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who had advocated the law permitting women to engage in politics, and expressed their gratitude to the Ghazi, for giving them political rights in addition to such social rights as emancipation from harems.

### Polygamy in Egypt

A correspondent of *Al-Ahram,* Cairo, writes on this subject as follows:

"I was much surprised when I read the article of Professor Farid Wagdi in favour of plurality of wives, for I did not expect the Professor to defend such a retrograde custom which, God knows, is not consistent with the times in which we live. I was also most surprised that the *Ahram* supported these views, so putting to shame those who would carry forward the banner of civilization.

"In the days of old, people were divided into tribes and races which were permanently fighting and raiding and killing one another: therefore the number of men was always tending to diminish, and the number of women to increase out of all proportion. In some places the proportion of women to men became ten to one. It therefore became both just and natural that a man should marry five or

six wives because there were five or six times as many women as men in the tribe.

"Islam came at a time when social conditions were as I have described them. Perhaps Professor Farid Wagdi may remember that many Moslems complained to the Prophet of God that the number of wives should be limited to four when the number of women far and away exceeded the number of men. The Prophet only reminded them that men might, if they were able to do so, take concubine slaves.

"That is to say, although Islam permitted plurality of wives because of the social conditions of those early times, yet the matter is summed up for us in the words: 'If you fear that you will be unjust, take only one.' This is the counsel of God to which we should conform these days. I would go even further and say that a law should be passed forbidding plurality of wives in obedience to the counsel of the Lord of the Worlds.

"Should there be a war, however, in which a large number of men were killed, then we should be able to return to the custom permitted to us by our religion in accordance with the change of circumstances . . . .

"No woman can be true to a man married to another wife if she knows that he is deceiving and betraying her. If she had the power, she would condemn him to death. How can a man and a woman live together in insincerity and without pure love? You can respect no woman who is your wife unless you know her to be sincere. It were better to leave her at once.

"The duty of the Egyptian woman is to work through Feminist Societies for the passing of a law as soon as possible, which will forbid plurality of wives, except in times of war. She should see that suggestions drawn up should be presented to the king and to the ministers and to other public bodies. She should claim the right to enjoy the full love of her husband without sharing him with any other wives."

### A Christian-Moslem Peace Plan from the Philippines

The kings and Presidents of forty-five nations, including Pope Pius XI, have been sent a large letter on lurid orange paper, the royal color of Islam, which they are asked to read without delay. The message is signed by twelve hundred Moslem Moros, formerly the most troublesome and war-loving people in Uncle Sam's domain. Today these Moros, who have undergone a remarkable transformation and are deeply interested in world events, are offering the nations an original plan to end war.

They would adapt the custom legislators have of pairing off when they prefer not to vote on opposite sides of a bill. The proposal is for nations to enter into treaties to pair off their citizens, at least those who volunteer to be paired off, and exempt them from fighting, in case of hostilities between those powers. If one nation has twice as many fighting men as another it pairs off two men against one.

Men of similar professions and tastes would be paired off together, doctors with doctors, sportsmen with sportsmen, and presumably thieves with thieves. Each man thus exempted from

service will be given the names of his "peace partners" in other countries and will be encouraged to engage in friendly correspondence with them.

This is probably the first plan ever submitted that gives all men a chance to express their attitude toward war in a decisive manner. It is, indeed, a "continuous plebescite" taken in peace time when men can think clearly and without prejudice.

The message says that great numbers of high-minded men who are now plagued by the conflict between loyalty to their own country and loyalty to humanity will welcome the opportunity to renounce war if they can do so without disloyalty to their country. "Unquestionably nearly all men would avoid war if they could do so patriotically." The writers believe that, if adopted, the plan would instantly call forth an immense tide of volunteers in every nation. This vast gesture of friendship would engender confidence and affection and so become a continuous propaganda against war.

The new idea was born on Armistice Day, 1933, at a meeting of Moslems and Christians held to pray for peace. Among the signers are twelve Sultans, and nearly two hundred *Sheiks, Hadjis, Imams, Panditas,* and *guros,* as well as over a thousand other Moslems. There also appear the names of two hundred Christian Filipinos, twelve Americans, eighteen Chinese, and four Japanese. Today the *imams* of every mosque in the Philippines are leading their worshipping congregations in praying that the nations may look with favor upon their plan. Friday is the Moslem sacred day.

*Lanao, P. I.* FRANK LAUBACH.

## The Rev. Archibald Forder

It is with sorrow that we record the death, in November, of the Rev. Archibald Forder, late of Palestine, at the age of 69. A native of Salisbury, Mr. Forder, as a young man, responded to a call to assist in pioneer missionary work at Kerak, in the country east of Jordan. He labored among the Arabs in that district for many years, and when at length the Church Missionary Society took over the work, Mr. Forder decided to continue on independent lines, transferred his headquarters to Jerusalem, but continued to travel in what is now Transjordania.

One adventurous journey from Damascus took him 300 miles to the oasis of El Jauf, Arabia, but he was not long allowed to remain there. During the War, Mr. Forder was arrested by the Turks, and imprisoned at Damascus until the Armistice. Subsequently he superintended the colportage work of the Nile Mission Press in Palestine. He was the author of one or two books, including, "Petra, Perea, Phœnicia," a fully illustrated description of districts which it is now almost impossible to visit.

## The Re-Conquest of Spain

The Ahmadi Movement is ambitious. In a recent issue of their magazine, *The Light,* Mr. M. A. Faruqi offers to start a fund to spread Islam in Spain. "At least I would die happy, if I once see the flag of Islam flying on the ramparts of the Court of the Lion of

Alhambra and the Muezzin calling to prayer in the Masjid-i-Jamia of Cordova. In my humble opinion, the next foreign language into which the Holy Quran and other important Islamic literature should be rendered is the Spanish language. This language is not only spoken in the Peninsula of Spain, but also practically over the whole of the Continent of South America, Central America, including Mexico and West Indies, etc.

"The whole world now knows, that the present democratic Government in Spain is by no means favourably disposed towards the Christian religion and institutions like convents, monasteries and church organizations, etc. The octopus of the Roman Catholic religion has at last been made to loosen its tentacles from the body of the Spanish people as a whole. People are discarding their time-honoured prejudices and in certain universities Arabic and its literature has been introduced as an optional course. Some people of advanced views have even suggested the restoration of the old Moorish (Islamic) monuments and buildings, like the Grand Mosque at Cordova, to their proper use and pristine glory. One Spanish friend of mine even boasted to me, when I was in U. S. America, that he had Arab blood in his veins and was very proud of it too.

"All these indications point to the fact that the time of the Re-Conquest of Spain has arrived. Now for another *Tariq* to lead the forces of Islam and sweep every thing before them in Spain. Verily the pen can be mightier than the sword."

## "To Whom then will Ye Liken God?"

### (Criticism of a tract on the Divinity of Christ)

In the last number of The Moslem World Dr. Browne is good enough to ask for criticisms and suggestions before the publication of his valuable tract on the Divinity of Christ.

The suggestions that I should like to make on the general subject of the presentation of Christianity to Moslems are of rather a revolutionary nature; I hope to put them in a separate article which I, too, will submit for the criticism of readers of The Moslem World. Here I confine myself to a few criticisms of Dr. Browne's tract, which may or may not be of value.

In the first place, I would suggest that when the tract is put into Arabic its language should be carefully scrutinized in the light of the technical terms of Moslem scholasticism. I have given the leisure of some years to a study of the subject, and on reading this tract two conclusions press upon me; first, that the mind of the Moslem theologian already has been hardened against its arguments; and secondly, that everything depends upon the Arabic words which are used to convey the author's meaning.

Thus, Abdul Masih and Ahmad (Can we include Jacob in view of what Rabbinic literature says of Jesus?) agree that Jesus was sinless, but all Moslems hold that Jesus, though born of a pure virgin is *makhluq* (created). God if He wished, could create hundreds without sin and without the intervention of an earthly father. This objection must be cleared away before we can build upon the premise that sinlessness is an indication of divine sonship. Further, the later doctrine of Muhammad, the perfection of mankind, cannot

safely be ignored, though it is easy to show that this is not a primitive doctrine of Islam, nor even the teaching of its founder.

Again, Ahmad (p. 57, para. 2) confesses that he is satisfied that "there is no justification for the gross and carnal interpretations" of the term Son of God. I don't quite see why. I think that somewhere it ought to be said that we agree that the words *lam yalid walam yulad,* (He begetteth not, neither is He begotten) are perfectly true in the sense in which they are used in Arabic, and that the idea of physical generation from a *nutfa* is as abhorrent to Abdul Masih as to his friends. The generation (*takwin*) of the Son of God is eternal. I refrain from saying more on this subject, because the tract is probably not intended for Moslem theologians, but for the ordinary man in the street. Still he, presumably, will take it to his teachers.

Turning now to my second point: the language in which this tract is to appear: how is "the mind of God" (p. 52) to be rendered? *Aql* won't do, as this is the language of the heretical *hukama; dhat* will land us in the dread quagmire of the Sifatiyya controversies; while *ilm* destroys the argument as the *mutakallimun* argued long ago. We could rebut Abdul Masih's argument by saying that if the mind of God is capable of entertaining thoughts of ugliness, injustice, and tyranny, He Himself must be ugly, unjust, and tyrannical. On the whole I should be inclined to drop the word *mind* altogether and say that the beautiful and the good have their origin in God and so on to say that if He is their origin they must reveal a part of His Being or Essence.

If I have seemed to play the part of a hostile critic it is only with an earnest desire to help. The tract seems to me to lay emphasis in the right place—the majesty and love of God, a majesty which was not compromised by the sending of His Son, and a love which is fully manifest only in the life of the Son.

*Culham College* ALFRED GUILLAUME.

### A Proposed Index to The Moslem World

It is proposed to prepare an exhaustive index to the twenty-five volumes of THE MOSLEM WORLD if there is a demand on the part of our subscribers for it. Hitherto each annual volume has had an index, but there has been call for an inclusive-index to the important articles, book reviews, and current topics in all the earlier volumes. A general index would greatly facilitate the study of all contributions made regarding Islam in various countries, the approach to the Moslem mind, or the beliefs and practices of Islam.

**Will those of our subscribers who would be willing to purchase such an index at the close of the year kindly send a post card request?** If there is a sufficient demand we will be able to print the index and mail it with the October issue of 1935. It is proposed to charge the nominal sum of four shillings or one dollar, for the complete index to the twenty-five volumes.

EDITOR.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Zur Frauenfrage in der arabisch-islamischen Welt.** By Rudi Paret. Veröffentlichungen des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Tübingen. Herausgeber: E. Littmann, J. W. Hauer. Verlag von W. Kohlhammer in Stuttgart. pp. 70. Price, R. M. 5.40.

There have been a number of excellent books in recent years regarding the condition of women in Moslem lands. Pierre Loti wrote a trilogy on the condition of women in Turkey. Other writers have dealt with Algeria and Egypt. The present work is different in that the author has taken for his sources six recent books published by Moslems on the woman question. *As-sufur wa'l-hijab* and *Al-fatah wa'sh-shuyukh* by Nazira Zainaddin, and *Nazarāt* by Mustafa al-Ghalayini all advocate monogamy and freedom from seclusion. There are also three books by different writers who represent the orthodox Islamic standpoint, *viz*: *Imra'atuna fi'sh-shari'a wa'l-mujtama'* by Tahir Haddad; *Al-hidad 'ala imra'at al-Haddad* by Muhammed Salih; and *Nida' li'l-jins al-latif,* by Rashid Rida. Nazira Zainaddin is a young Druse woman who wrote from Beirut in 1928. The other advocate for women's rights is a psychologist in Tunis.

After giving a summary and a somewhat critical review of these six works, the author discusses the question of Mohammedan marriage in general, the veil, child marriage, polygamy, the wives of the Prophet, and divorce. In an appendix he makes reference to recent organizations and reforms due to the feminist movement. His treatment of the subject is without prejudice, and also without favor, as is evident from this paragraph regarding the wives of Mohammed:

"Wenn heutzutage gewisse modern eingestellte Muslime behaupten, die Polygamie sei im Urislam nur als notwendiges Übel beibehalten, aber nicht prinzipiell gebilligt worden, so könnte man ihnen darin vielleicht eher recht geben, wenn Mohammed, der Stifter des Islams, für sich persönlich in monogamischer Ehe gelebt hätte. Dem ist aber nicht so. Im Gegenteil. Der Prophet war gegen Ende seines Lebens gleichzeitig mit neun Frauen verheiratet und dabei bekannte er offen, von Gott zu einer Überschreitung der für die Gläubigen vorgeschriebenen Höchstzahl von Frauen privilegiert zu sein (Sure 33, 49, 50). Eine von seinen Frauen, Zainab, hatte überdies vorher seinem eigenen Adoptivsohn gehört und war deshalb für ihn eigentlich nicht heiratsfähig. Wenn er sie trotzdem zur Gattin nahm, setzte er sich damit sogar bei seinen intimsten Anhängern dem Verdacht aus, einer erotischen Neigung zulieb Sitte und Gesetz zu brechen (vgl. Sure 33, 46-40). Auf jeden Fall sieht das Privatleben Mohammeds nicht so aus, wie wenn er auf eine Beschränkung der Polygamie hingearbeitet hätte. Man kann es den christlichen Mohammedanermissionaren wirklich nicht verdenken, wenn sie immer wieder auf diese Tatsache hinweisen

und daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass der Islam grundsätzlich nicht in der Lage sei, aus sich heraus die Unsitte der Vielweiberei zu überwinden." Z.

**Ferdovsi 934-1934.** The Institute for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R. and the Hermitage State Museum. Leningrad, 1934. pp. i+217. Price 8 roubles.

**The Manuscripts of the Shah-Name in the Leningrad Collections.** By L T. Guzalian and M. M. Diaconoff. The Inst. Or. St. Ac. Sc. U. S. S. R. and the Hermitage Museum Leningrad, 1934. pp. xxiv + 123. Price 4 roubles.

**The Sogdian Collection.** The Inst. Or. St. Ac. Sc. U. S. S. R. and the Tadjikistan Institute. Leningrad, 1934. pp. 121 with 18 illustrations. Price 5 roubles.

The one thousandth anniversary of the birth of Firdawsi, the greatest epic poet of Persia, was celebrated in Leningrad, U. S. S. R., on May 29, 1934 (in this country, by Columbia University, the Metropolitan Museum and the Institute for Persian Art and Archeology on November 8). To this event two of the three above mentioned Russian books are dedicated. The first one contains eight articles—the most important of which is, certainly, that by A. Romaskevitch—the history of the studies on Shah-Namah, the famous "Book of Kings". The author writes very infrequently, but in his works one usually sees his great erudition. E. Berthels, a good Russian Iranist, of the younger generation, discusses the creative genius of Firdawsi. These pages are, unfortunately, weaker than we are accustomed to expect from him; Mr. Berthels has gone too far from the question and has plunged deeply into the social relations. The influence of Shah-Namah on Turkish Central Asiatic literature is taken up by A. Samoilovitch who gives us short, but very precious data. On twenty pages a poetical translation of the fragments of Shah-Namah, in the metre of the original, is given; the name of the poet-translator is Lozinsky. Other articles are less interesting.

In the second book we have a detailed description of twenty-nine illuminated manuscripts of Shah-Namah which are preserved in several Leningrad collections. Six of these manuscripts have been already described earlier by B. Dorn, in his anonymously published "Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Pétersbourg", 1852, and two by Baron V. Rosen in "Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales", vol. III, 1886. The work of two of our authors is done carefully and their book is valuable, because everyone (who can read Russian!) may now be informed what remarkable examples of the Shah-Namah are in Russian museums.

In 1933, the Soviet Academy sent an archeological expedition to the mountain of Mugh, about 120 kilometres eastward from Samarkand, under the guidance of A. Freiman. Besides various objects of art, household, etc., which were found in the castle on this mountain, 81 documents were discovered there. Among them 33 are written on leather, 25 on paper, and 23 on wood; two documents are in Arabic, eight Chinese and others—Sogdians. The extreme importance of this discovery is unquestionable. Thanks to the brilliant analysis of the Arabic ones by I. Kratchkovsky (written in

collaboration with his wife) we know that this collection belongs to the first quarter of the 8th century of our era. The chief of the expedition, Mr. Freiman, gives the list of the Sogdian documents and the description of the expedition, as does Mr. A. I. Vasiljev as well, and A. S. Poliakov makes a study of the Chinese material. A French résumé is added at the end.

The first and the third of the books under discussion are spoiled a little by their prefaces, which are exaggerated eulogies of the Soviet Government, but this style is obligatory now in Russia. The prices of all the books are extremely high.

N. Martinovitch.

**Red Road through Asia.** A Journey by the Arctic Ocean to Siberia, Central Asia, and Armenia: with an Account of the Peoples now living in those Countries under the Hammer and Sickle. By Bosworth Goldman. Methuen and Co., London. pp. 277. Price, 12s. 6d.

This is a most valuable and interesting book of travel, with wealth of excellent illustrations. The author is a British ex-naval officer and air-pilot whose knowledge of Russia and whose aggressive personality permitted him to penetrate in remote centers of the U. S. S. R. from the far North to Samarkand and then westwards and across the Caspian Sea to Constantinople. His journey, full of peril and adventure, took him along the fringes of that new Russia which has probably been visited by few travellers since the Revolution.

The book deals not primarily with geography but with the people, their economic and social condition and the effect of Communism on culture. Mr. Goldman was not "escorted" by the Intourist Agency. He underwent incredible discomforts, describes life in the raw, and his investigations and conclusions carry the conviction of reality. The sinister shadow of the Ogpu rests on more than one chapter, and at the conclusion we have the sober judgment of one who suffered to learn the truth. R. S. M. Sturges, reviewing the book in the Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society, says:

"It is, in fact the restrained tone of the book that gives one confidence in the author's judgment and impartiality. Considerations of space have prevented any attempt to summarize his observations on the many matters that engaged his attention—the habits of the nomads of the 'Tundra,' the misery of the peasants, the tyranny of the Ogpu, the enthusiasm of the young Communists and the dissatisfaction of their elders, and, above all, the irritating monotony of the all-pervading propaganda. Nor has it been possible to follow him along the many interesting ethnological, political, social and economic byways that he opens up in the course of his narrative. One may feel that these digressions are almost too numerous and insufficiently co-ordinated, tending at times to be patchy and confusing, but there is no doubt that they include the most instructive passages in the book.

"In conclusion, must be mentioned an important point that is made by Mr. Goldman in the latter pages of his book. He emphasizes that Communism could never succeed in England; not only are many of its principles in direct conflict with the dominant characteristics of our race, but, as practised in Russia, it connotes a lower

standard of life than would ever be tolerated in this country. This fact, he contends, can best be brought home to the public mind by 'accurate and impartial description of conditions in Russia.' The impression left by Mr. Goldman's own description of conditions in Russia, which bears every stamp of accuracy and impartiality, fully justifies his contention, and we close the book with a feeling of gratitude to the author that he has enabled us vicariously to experience those conditions, and with a fervent hope that it may never be our lot to suffer them in our own persons." Z.

**The Valleys of the Assassins.** By Freya Stark. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. pp. 365. Price, $4.

No student of the history of Islam is ignorant of Hasan-i-Sabbah, the first Grand Master of the Assassins, a Persian Ismaili sect which rose to power about 1000 A. D. and spread from North Persia to the Mediterranean. His followers became known through the Crusaders chronicles, who told of the secret garden of Paradise where the head of the fanatical sect drugged his devotees with *hashish* to become Assassins of his enemies. The Old Man of the Mountains has long since lost his terror, but H. H. the Agha Khan as lineal descendant now rules the remnant of the Ismaili Moslems.

This is more than an adventure story. The author, famous as an explorer, has an unusual literary style and shows a keen apprehension of the Persian people and an appreciation of their past history and heritage. In five chapters, of very unequal length and interest, we have the story of a fortnight in Northwestern Luristan; a longer journey of adventure to find "The Hidden Treasure" in the defile of the Unbelievers; a visit to the Valley of the Assassins; and to the Throne of Solomon. The first two chapters deal with Luristan, the other three with Mazanderan. The press reviews of the book have been unusually favorable: "A most fascinating book. To read it is an experience and a delight. A classic of travel and an enthralling record." The author's most entertaining quality is her sparkling wit and comprehension of the Eastern mind and character, combined with a vivid power of description. In addition to the unusual illustrations, there are five excellent route-maps. Z.

**Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics.** By Louis H. Gray, Columbia University Press, 1934. pp. xvi+147. $3.25.

Students will welcome this treatise on Semitic comparative linguistics by an eminent Indo-European philologist. While Gray's work will not supplant our standard works on Semitic philology, it is very important to have in the Semitic field a presentation which employs the methods of the Indo-European comparative philologist. The book contains much more than its modest title would indicate. Although the work is called an introduction, it presupposes a good deal of linguistic knowledge on the part of the beginner, for whom it is especially intended. In spite of its elementary purpose, we should have expected in Chapter I a brief treatment of the relation between the Semitic and Hamitic languages. The book includes phonology and morphology. In comparing the forms in the various Semitic languages, the hypothetical proto-Semitic form is given. The treatment of nouns, pronouns, numerals, particles, and verbs, while

compact, is comprehensive. At the head of various chapters and sections, references to different works are furnished, and thus the student's range is extended. One of the merits of the book is its brevity. A useful bibliography is appended. This convenient and brief syllabus should be in the hands of every student of Semitic languages.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

**Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society.** Volume VI. Years 1929 to 1933. Edited by The Rev. James Robson, M. A., Recording Secretary. Glasgow. Blackie and Son, Ltd. pp. 78.

This volume contains a number of papers of great interest to students of Islam. Among them we note "Turkish Artillery at the Fall of Constantinople", "Semitic Elements in the Poetry of Robert Browning", and "The Congress of Arabian Music: Cairo, 1932."

The longest paper published and by far the most interesting is by the Rev. James Robson on "The Magical Use of the Koran", pp. 51-60. After giving a full account of this astonishing superstition the author states: "It should be said in conclusion that one must not imagine that all Muslims make such use of their Scriptures. If in earlier times even the educated believed in magical practices, this cannot be said of people at the present day who have profited from modern education. But the common people believe earnestly in the genuineness of charms, and the number of books which are published on the subject shows that there is a general demand for them. One has only to look through a bookseller's catalogue to see how popular this type of literature is."

Z.

**The Original Jesus.** By Otto Borchert. Translated from the German by L. M. Stalker. The Macmillan Company, 1933. pp. 480. $3.50.

From the Editor's Preface we learn that "Dr Otto Borchert studied at Leipzig, Halle, and Wittenberg. When in business in his early days he met doubters who were affected by Biblical criticism and philosophical scepticism. Strauss's *'Life of Jesus'* in its unsettling influence drove him to an intense and independent study of the Gospel narratives. Since 1901 he has occupied the position of Pastor and Inspector of Schools, Westerhausen, Hanover. *Der Goldgrund des Lebesbildes Jesu* has had a remarkable history. It had to wait sixteen years before it found a publisher. The explanation lies in the fact that it was ahead of its time."

In the early part of the book the author effectively meets the argument that the Jesus of the Gospels is invented, partially imagined, or idealized. He points out the "stumbling-block and offence" of Jesus; the numerous elements in the Christ of the Gospels which run counter to the desires, hopes, ideas and ideals, not only of the Jews in the first century, but of the human heart in all generations. The apocryphal gospels give us the Jesus of man. Resting then upon the self-evidenced genuineness of the Gospel portrait, the author unfolds the glory of Jesus, physical, mental, and religious. The closing section deals with the mystery of Jesus' character and Personality; and presents Him as our Lord and Saviour. The author leads us to stand with the disciples of old, who explained Jesus as God, who understood Him as man.

JOHN W. VOORHIS.

**Camel Bells of Baghdad.** By Janet Miller, M. D. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. pp. 299. Price $3.

Dr. Miller, who was a medical missionary on the Congo in Africa, gives here a record of travel and adventure in the city of the Arabian Nights, the Tower of Babel, the Garden of Eden, the Palace of Darius, the bazaars of Teheran, and the mountains and deserts of Persia. Her descriptions are vivid and romantic. She is an expert artist and saw and appreciated the beautiful in nature and the handiwork of man.

She does not mention mission work in these Moslem lands, except in one casual reference to South Persia; but she voices her disapproval of the treatment of women in Islam. At the end of her return journey, after a wordy tussle with semi-officials on the border of Persia about her passport, she solemnly registered a vow that she would thank God on her knees, fasting three times a week, that she was not born a Persian (Moslem) woman!

AMY E. ZWEMER.

**Zwischen Saat und Ernte.** By Ernst J. Christoffel. Verlag der Christlichen Blindenmission im Orient, E. V., Berlin-Friedenau. pp. 320.

The author is at the head of the Mission for the Blind in the Orient, and has had twenty-five years of experience in the Orient. In 1909 he opened a home for the blind at Malatia, which was afterwards closed because of the World War. At present the center of the work is in Persia in Tabriz.

The book consists of a series of interesting stories and observations regarding the problem of Islam in relation to childhood, especially to the blind, and contains a number of illustrations and a map.

Z.

**The Ideals of East and West.** By Kenneth Saunders, Litt.D. Cambridge University Press, 1934. pp. 246. 10s.

Dr. Saunders has been a university teacher in California where extreme West touches extreme East, and he gives us here a comparative study of the ethical ideals of Europe and Asia, as moulded and shaped by their environment. The book is planned to deal with Greek and Hebrew teachers from whom we derive, and with Indian and Chinese sages whom Asia follows, and one is a little startled to find Christian and Japanese ethics bracketed as derivative systems. In each religion we are given a brief outline of the characteristic ethical teaching, followed by a very interesting selection from the standard writings, which includes passages both from the classics and from folk lore and proverbs. The treatment, while necessarily sketchy, is marked by imaginative insight and wide scholarship. Unfortunately for our purposes, the ethics of Islam receive no special treatment. This might perhaps have made the result in Christian ethic less fluid. It would probably have emphasized the gifted author's conclusion that the source of the power of Christian ethics is "the life hidden with Christ in God."

H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON.

**The Daughter of Abd Salam.** The Story of a Peasant Woman of Palestine. By Florence Mary Fitch. Bruce Humphries, Inc., Boston. pp. 75. $1.50.

The author is professor of Biblical Literature in Oberlin College, and in her foreword she acknowledges her indebtedness, in drawing this remarkable picture of the life of a peasant woman in Palestine, to Hilma Granqvist, the Finnish scholar whose studies of peasant life in Palestine our readers will remember. This is a popular presentation, beautifully illustrated, and attractively bound. The author, however, spent only seven months in Palestine.

Z.

**The Beloved Physician of Teheran.** By Isaac Yonan. Cokesbury Press, Nashville. pp. 117. $1.00.

This fascinating panorama of the life of Dr. Sa'eed Khan, that first fruit of the Christian Church among the Kurds of Persia, is a dramatic and inspiring apologetic of Christian Missions. His brilliant mind and his radiant soul glow through the pages and put us under the spell of this winsome personality who is such a flaming witness of the power available in the cross. Born of a distinguished family, converted by a saintly native evangelist with rare patience and tact, persecuted, exiled, befriended and given medical training by a missionary doctor, his life as preacher-physician, vibrating with thrilling experiences, has endeared him to Moslem and Christian alike.

Elinor Marker.

**The Winning of the Sudan.** By Pierre Crabites. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London, 1934. pp. 277 with index and map. 12/6 net.

This is a fascinating record of British activities relative to the Sudan from 1885-1933. The story opens with the thrilling retreat of Sir Charles Wilson and his flying squad who were just too late to reach Gordon at Khartum. With equal fascination the reconquest of the Sudan under Kitchener is set forth. The book is well documented and the author discusses impartially many of the perplexing questions involved in Anglo-Egyptian relations. Notable is the handling of the adverse judgment by the Mixed Tribunal in regard to payment from the Reserve Fund by the Egyptian Government to help finance the Dongola Expedition that looked toward the regaining of the Sudan; also the presentation of the problem pertaining to control of the Nile, and the distribution of its waters for irrigation to Egypt and the Sudan. After an analysis of the British cotton-raising project in the Gezira plains of the Sudan, the author closes the book with the question—"Is the game worth the candle?" But one should read the book to discover the answer.

John W. Voorhis.

**Inleiding tot de Studie van den Heiligen Qoer-An.** Door Maulana Moehammad Ali. Vertaald door Soedewo. Lahore: De Ahmadijah-Beweging Indonesia, 1934. pp. 200. Price, 2 florins.

The Ahmadiya propaganda from Lahore as a center has reached out to Indonesia. Here is a proof in "the Introduction to the Holy Koran of Mohammed Ali," first issued in English to accompany his

well known translation and now given in the Dutch language. The translator has added a foreword, given on pp. 189-191, in which he pays a high tribute to the scholarship and the literary ability of Mohammed Ali. There is no indication in the preface or in the rest of the book that this theological interpretation of Islam is not orthodox nor of the tendency on the part of the author and the Ahmadiya movement in general to gloss over or explain away those features of the Koran which are a stumbling-block to sane thinking or an offence to modern ethics. The Dutch translation is, as far as we can judge, excellent. The present "Introduction" is to be followed by an Arabic-Dutch edition of the Koran in parallel columns with notes and references. Such activity is a challenge to all the missions in Netherlands India.

*"Qoer-An"* in the title, is an indication of what happens when scholars who write *Qur'ān* instead of the conventional *Koran,* in Dutch and in English, find imitators. Z.

**Bachta Chan eller Lyckobarnet.** av Gustaf Ahlbert. Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets Förlag. pp. 63. Price, 75 öre.

**Habil en Kristen Martyr i Ostturkestan.** av Gustaf Ahlbert. Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets Förlag. pp. 56. Price, 75 öre.

We recall with pleasure the days when Gustaf Ahlbert attended the Cairo Study Center and endeared himself to the late Canon W. Temple Gairdner and to all of us by his earnest missionary spirit. Here we have two studies in missionary biography from Eastern Turkestan, profusely illustrated and attractively printed by the Swedish Missionary Society. The first is that of a sweet girl, Bachta, whose life centers in Yarkand. The second is of Habil, a Christian convert from Islam and a martyr who suffered much at the hands of Moslems in Kashgar and died so triumphantly that the bystanders said, "Habil was a righteous man." The Christian Church in East Turkestan had in him its first martyr. Alas! dark days of war and persecution have followed since these two little books were written, but each of them is a testimony that the infant church in this part of Central Asia is a living witness to the Gospel. Z.

**The Truth of Christianity.** Being an Examination of the more important Arguments for and against Believing in that Religion. By Lt.-Col. W. H. Turton, D.S.O. Twelfth Edition. London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd. 1934. pp. 536. Price, 2 shillings net. (U. S. A. $1.00).

This book has reached its twelfth edition. 65,000 copies are in circulation, and it has been translated into Japanese, Italian, Chinese, and Arabic. As an apologetic for natural religion and the Christian revelation it is an extremely valuable piece of work. The absolute fairness of the author wins the reader's approval, and even the rationalistic press of Great Britain calls it "a remarkable volume, with scarcely a dull page."

It consists of three parts: first, the proofs for natural religion and theism; second, the credibility of the Old Testament and the Jewish religion; and third, over one-half of the volume, deals with the Christian religion—the records, the person of Jesus Christ, miracles, prophecies, and the Christian creeds. Z.

**Al-Andalus.** Revista de las escuelas de estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, Vol. II, fasc. 1, Madrid-Granada, 1934. 260+16pp. of a list of publications by Spanish Arabists; foreign subscription, 30 pesetas per year; single numbers, 15 pesetas.

This periodical appears semi-annually under the able directorship of Señor Miguel Asín Palacios and Emilio García Gómez, who are assisted by an editorial staff of Spanish Arabists. The journal is devoted to Arabic literature and history with emphasis on Spain and Northern Africa. Of special interest is the publication of Arabic manuscripts. HENRY S. GEHMAN.

**Das Buch der deutschen Weltmission.** By Dr. Julius Richter. Leopold Klotz, Gotha, 1935. pp. 340. Rm. 7.50.

This volume, supplied with 138 excellent illustrations, and written by 53 German missionary experts, gives a complete survey of the present condition of German missions in the world, in which their share in the work among Mohammedans is treated exhaustively.

As German missions are found in all missionary fields, we get here an insight into all questions of the present time, concerning world missions. Reports are given about the several societies, their activities and their particular tasks. Moreover, a fund of individual illustrations is offered of the entire work, and also, biographies of prominent missionaries, missionary leaders and native Christians. The book discusses the contact of the German work with that of other nationalities, and as the great missionary problems all over the world at the present time are about the same, it can be considered an important contribution to missionary history. G. SIMON.

**Dr. Ludwig Nommensen.** By D. Johannes Warneck. Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft, Wuppertal-Barmen, 1934. pp. 156. Rm. 2.-.

The importance of the history of the Batakmission in Sumatra with regard to the mission among Mohammedans lies, first, in the fact that this Mission in 75 years succeeded in checking the complete inundation of the heathen portion of the population of Sumatra by Islam, and also won over several thousand Mohammedans to the Gospel. Among the thousands that are annually received into the fold of the Christian Batak-church by baptism, there are always quite a number of Mohammedans. Recently the Gospel message has also been carried to the Mohammedan population by the Christian emigrants of our churches. The lack of arable land often compels the residents of the more densely populated regions to emigrate to bordering Mohammedan parts of the country, that are less densely populated. A good many of our people also leave Sumatra and seek for bread and earnings abroad, especially at Java and other islands of the Netherland-Indie archipelago. In all such places small Christian churches are established in the midst of the Mohammedans.

Ludwig Nommensen was the chosen instrument in God's hand, who from small and insignificant beginnings accomplished the wonderful results that can be seen today among the Bataks. Nommensen began his work among the Mohammedans, but was obliged, most reluctantly, to give it up. However, his residence among the Mohammedans along the coast had shown him very plainly the

danger that the tribes of the interior would become islamized. This man, from his boyhood, was endowed by God with exceptional resoluteness of faith and with an indomitable will-power and rare wisdom. In the midst of the Mohammedan world he succeeded in winning the heart of the heathen population for his Master. Today the Batak church numbers over 350,000 Christians. The life-work of this remarkable man is described by his former co-worker and successor in the field, D. Johannes Warneck, who is at present Managing Director of the Rhenish Mission in Barmen. The description is so true to life and so graphic, that while reading the book, we, so to speak, participate in it. GOTTFRIED SIMON.

**De Zending in Oost-en West Indie.** By H. D. J. Boissevain s'Gravenhage, 1934. N. V. Algemeene boekhandel voor Inwendige en uitwendige Zending, vol. I. pp. 210.

This latest survey of the position of missions in Netherland-Indie gives an insight into their large work among the Mohammedans of Java and Sumatra. The societies of Holland and Germany are also working among the Mohammedans in the other islands of the archipelago. The book gives a short sketch of the history of the various missions, from 1522 onward, and an accurate general view of their different branches of work at the present time, to wit: medical missions, school work, educational matters, as well as the development of the homework in Holland. The carefully collected statistics are to follow in a second volume, which is to appear very shortly. G. SIMON.

**India's Social Heritage.** By L. S. S. O'Malley. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1934. pp. 194. $2.

The author served for many years in India in the Civil Service, and has published a number of books on caste. In his preface he states that the present work is merely intended to give a simple statement of the principal features of the social system in India. This social system retains many features of early life in society. A man is not so much an individual as a unit in a group.

There are chapters on caste, the depressed classes, the frontier tribes, the village community, the family, marriage, and the purdah system. In regard to the latter, the author holds that it was introduced into India by Moslems. The further one goes north-west, where Islam prevails, the more common is the practice. There may be happiness behind the purdah, but, as the author states: "It is impossible to deny that in the majority of cases purdah life is unhealthy, both physically and mentally. Anaemia, osteomalacia, and tuberculosis are all too common consequences of life within the walls of a house and want of fresh air and exercise."

One is astonished to learn that in Bengal and elsewhere in India the caste system has infected the lower classes of Moslems.

Z.

## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

*Union Theological Seminary Library*

### I. GENERAL

Djamîl Ṣidqî az-Zahâwî. Dr. Widmer. (In *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft,* Berlin. December 1934. pp. 353-361).

Tells of one of the foremost present-day Arab writers, radical in his views and a firm upholder of the rights of women.

El Menna Ismail, Fiki and Emir in Kordofan. A. R. C. Bolton. (In *Sudan Notes and Records,* London, 1934, part 2. pp. 229-241).

Account of the exploits of a contemporary and companion of El Mahdi.

Firdausi and Modern Persia. Joseph J. Cooksey. (In *World Dominion,* London. January, 1935. pp. 71-74).

The millenary of their great poet's birth has permitted the Persian Government to honor him and to give expression to the spirit of nationalism which is flooding the country.

Survey of the Year 1934: The Near East. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1934. pp. 52-68).

Summarizes political, social and religious conditions in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Iraq and Arabia, Transjordan, Egypt and the Sudan, the Balkans, Abyssinia and North Africa.

### II. ARABIA

Ibn Saud Builds an Empire. Grayson L. Kirk. (In *Current History,* New York. December, 1934. pp. 291-297).

Since 1901 the persistent ruler of the present state of Saudi Arabia has worked for the unification of the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula in the face of terrific obstacles and has now brought unity and peace where political chaos formerly existed.

Spirits and Demons in Arabia. A. S. Tritton. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. October, 1934. pp. 715-727).

Relates the beliefs and legends about the Djinn and traces their effect upon the minds of the people and their relation to animism.

The Unification of Arabia. Hans Kohn. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. October, 1934. pp. 91-103).

Ibn Saud has consolidated the Arabian peninsula by the conquest of the territories of the Hashimite Sherifs of Mecca, the Ibn Rashids and the Imam of Yemen.

## III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

The Warning of Ibrahim Pasha of Buda. "Gerit". (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. October, 1934. pp. 621-670).

An article based on the "Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno Incremento e Decremento del Medesimo" by Count Marsigli (1658-1730), who studied the Turkish Army at first hand over a period of twenty years and who wrote minutely of its make-up and campaigns.

## IV. KORAN. TRADITIONS. THEOLOGY.

Arabische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Prof. Dr. Adolf Grohman. (In *Der Islam,* Berlin. August, 1934. pp. 1-68).

Translations and transcriptions of fifteen manuscripts dating from the eighth to the eleventh century A.D. They were found in Nubia and the Fayoum and deal with social conditions of their day.

Reading the Quran in Turkish. C. F. Gates. (In *World Unity,* New York. January, 1935. pp. 229-230).

Since 1932 the Turks have heard their sacred book read in their native tongue. What will be the moral effect of this upon a race which has hitherto listened only to the Arab text, a dead language to them?

## V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

Ancient Persia Goes Modern. H. A. Lichtwardt. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. December, 1934. pp. 551-555).

The progressive Shah, Riza Khan, is doing much for the material development of the country, but new ideas are sometimes unsettling and the Church of Christ in Persia has a splendid opportunity to stabilize the vacillating spiritual aspirations of the people.

Le Développement du Sens National et de l'Éducation en Iraq. Paul Catrice. (In *Le Bulletin des Missions,* Bruxelles. Septembre, 1934. pp. 149-156).

Nationalism and the advance of education are closely allied and the writer pleads for mass education to fit the newly-formed nation to see alike the problems facing it.

The Educational Experiment in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Sir James Currie. (In *The Journal of the African Society,* London. October, 1934. pp. 361-371; January, 1935. pp. 41-59).

The former principal of Gordon College at Khartoum describes its inception and development from 1900 to 1933; and finds the indirect administrative policy in Sudanese education as practiced in recent years to have been "an unmitigated evil."

L'Évolution Sociale et Politique des Pays Arabes. Louis Jovelet. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier 4, 1933. pp. 425-644).

Extensive survey of affairs in Islamic countries during the years 1930-1933, including remarks on nationalism, Zionism, treatment of minorities, social changes and Western influence.

La Question du Repos Hebdomadaire en Turqie. Paul Lessourd. (In *Les Missions Catholiques,* Paris. 1 Décembre 1934. p. 562).

The Moslem insistance on Friday as a day of rest and religious observance makes Sunday a day of business and puts an immense obstacle in the way of its Christian conformity.

Social Reactions in the Muslim World. H. A. R. Gibb. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. October, 1934. pp. 541-560).

If the Westernization of Islamic lands were accompanied by a sympathetic understanding towards native customs and beliefs, as is so generally the case in French colonies, less risk would be run of disturbance caused by the too sudden dislocation of age-old habits in commerce, industry, and other social relations.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

France in Morocco. (In *The Journal of the African Society,* London. October, 1934. pp. 319-352).

Three articles in French. The first on Lyautey by the Marquis de Segonzac; the second on the pacification of the difficult Berber hill-tribes by General H. Simon; and the third on the organization, customs and communities of the Berbers by Robert Montagne.

Minorities in Moslem Lands. 'Moumin'. (In *World Dominion,* London. October, 1934. pp. 391-394).

The spread of ardent nationalism in Turkey, Iraq, Persia and Egypt practically forces assimiliation or persecution upon their Christian minorities.

The Persian Regenesis. Bruce Hopper. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. January, 1935. pp. 295-308).

Shah Riza Khan, using Turkey as an example, is working to achieve national sovereignty at home and recognition of full national independence abroad.

Turkey: The Economic Situation and the Five-Year Plan. S. C. Wyatt. (In *International Affairs,* London. November-December, 1934. pp. 826-844).

Summarizes the most far-reaching and drastic changes of the last ten years and gives a more detailed account of the remarkable advance in trade, finance, manufacturing, and labor conditions.

## VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

Die Christliche Mission in der Welt des Islams. Dr. Theol. G. Rosenkranz. (In *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenchaft,* Berlin. December, 1934. pp. 362-382).

Survey, with statistics, of Christian missions throughout the Islamic world, with a plea for their continuance.

Egyptian Workers' Conference, 1934. (In *Egypt General Mission News,* London. November-December, 1934. pp. 128-132).

Report of an encouraging meeting.

A Needy Land. Albania. (In *World Dominion,* London. October, 1934. pp. 369-372).

A call for mission work in a country where a Mohammedan population of over 800,000 is practically untouched by Christianity.

The Road to Portuguese Guinea. Eduardo Moreira. (In *World Dominion,* London. January, 1935. pp. 62-70).

Every effort must be made to stem the tide of Mohammedanism, which threatens to overwhelm the west coast of Africa as it has already done the east.

The Story of Three Turks. E. M. Hoppe. (In *World Dominion,* London. October, 1934. pp. 360-368).

Special literature, printed through the help of the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems, has aided greatly in the conversion of Mohammedans in Bulgaria.

When a Kurd Becomes a Christian. Delavan L. Pierson. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. January, 1934. pp. 24-29).

Condensed from a book by Dr. Isaac Yonan, this article tells of the conversion of a Moslem Mullah, Dr. Sa'eed Khan—called the "beloved physician of Teheran."

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